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Winter 1979

Talking Points 2

Multicultural education 3

Education in a multiracial society 3
Eric Bolton

A multicultural curriculum: beyond the orthodoxy 8
Rob Jeffcoate

A second-generation immigrant's view of society – aims, aspirations and educational needs 13
David Moore

Fifteen thousand hours: findings and implications 18
Barbara Maughan and Janet Ouston

Why do girls underachieve? 24
Corinne Hutt

Lessons from class-size research – an economist's perspective 29
B. D. Cullen

A college/university merger 33
J. R. Hough

The school and the community 37
Michael Hacker

International education 44

Basic education statistics 48

Book reviews 49

Index to issues 1979/1–1979/4 58

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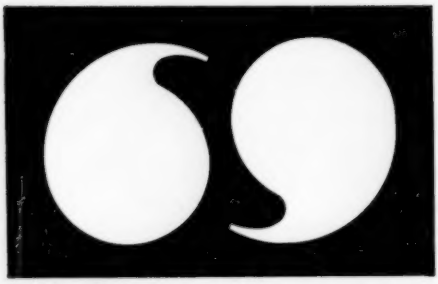


Talking Points

The politics of change

The main characters in Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* are two tramps who hang around waiting for someone who never turns up but who in some other way or other is going to change their lives. We in Britain are also waiting for our deliverance but, although we know that our *deus ex machina* – the microprocessor – is already on our doorstep and that we shall have to let him in, we are not yet convinced that he hasn't come to do us harm.

The optimistic futurologists offer us a world in which drudgery is banished and the natural creativity of man, unfettered by custom and economic constraints, is allowed free expression; the pessimists foresee a clockwork orange society, one in which work is the prerogative of a fortunate few, the masses are given bread and circuses, and the devil finds vicious work for idle hands to do.

The one certain thing about such forecasts is that they will be wrong.

The microprocessor revolution – to quote one ambiguous phrase, 'perhaps the greatest revolution since the invention of the wheel' – is merely the latest of several technological developments (supersonic transport, nuclear power) that, good or bad, have their momentum and, initially, high social and economic costs.

It is commonly said that the purpose of education in science and technology is to enable us to understand our increasingly complex scientific and technological world and to help us to come to informed decisions about the way we want it to go. But the reality is, of course, that the science and technology involved are so inaccessible to most people that the decisions are left in the hands of a small body of politicians and their advisers because for one reason or another the electorate is not involved closely in the decision-making process.

But is it necessarily true that we need to understand, say, the difference between fission and fusion before we can decide whether we want to commit ourselves to a nuclear energy programme? Do we need to understand the technology before we can reasonably make our views known about the politics of the matter? In a participatory democracy like ours, should the emphasis not be more strongly on arranging some means – not necessarily a referendum – through which the electorate can make its views adequately known on matters which are not only likely to be expensive but which will bring about fundamental and irrevocable changes in our social arrangements?

Above all, have educationists approached this matter from the wrong direction? Are schools, if they are conscious of the problem at all, trying to solve it entirely through scientific and technological education when perhaps political education has more to offer?

Correction

We apologize to readers for an error in the summer issue of *Trends*. On page 42, line 49, the college referred to should be Mid Kent College of Higher and Further Education and not Maidenhead Technical College.

Multicultural education

The majority of immigrants who arrived in this country in substantial numbers during the last twenty-five years are permanently settled and most ethnic minority children now entering schools are British-born. What are the implications for schools? The debate on the education service's ability to respond to the needs of ethnic minorities within the community and to prepare all pupils for life in a multicultural society is a recurring one. There is at least a degree of numerical stability now, bringing with it the possibility of making more accurate predictions about the ethnic and cultural mix of communities and schools in the foreseeable future.

Against this background the three following articles attempt to examine developments in thinking and policies to the present day, to indicate, from the viewpoint of a black Briton, the appropriateness of his experiences in British schools and to stimulate discussion about multicultural curriculum developments.

Trends 1979/4

Education in a multiracial society

Eric Bolton
HM Inspector

Immigration to Britain during the past twenty years has brought about an ethnically mixed and culturally varied society. One consequence of this change is that British institutions have had to adapt and change to cater for and reflect such a mixed society, and must continue to do so. The public education system is no exception. In fact, education is seen by many as central and critical, both in its direct responsibilities to pupils and students and in its long-term influences on future adult society. Thus one of the important questions facing education today is: What changes, modifications and adaptations of present philosophy, organization and practice are necessary to ensure that the education system of Britain reflects and caters for the needs and aspirations of a multiracial society?

Educational responses

In exploring this question further, it is necessary to examine, briefly, the different educational responses to the immigration that has taken place during the past two decades. Over these years, views about the

educational needs of migrants and responses to those needs have changed, reflecting the changing perceptions of the issues within education in particular and society in general. The debate has centred on three different but related attitudes to the presence of immigrants – assimilation, integration and pluralism.

Although it may be expedient here to treat each of these separately and to imply a particular chronological order, these terms, it must be stressed, are not mutually exclusive; there are still significant numbers of people who subscribe to one or other of them, and elements of each are to be seen in current thinking about our multiracial society.

Assimilation

During the early days of immigration the idea of assimilation was dominant and issues were seen in terms of two specific problems: a period of disorientation experienced by newly arrived immigrants that came to be known as 'culture shock' and their lack of expertise in the English language. It was believed that if these could be adequately dealt with immigrants would be absorbed by the majority society. Consequently, the major educational response, nationally and locally, was to make provision available for the teaching of English as a second language and, at the same time, to give some additional support to children during the initial period of culture shock.

In most cases language teaching, pastoral support and orientation were provided by the same teachers at the same time in language centres, reception centres or school-based language withdrawal groups. This linking of English language teaching with pastoral support meant that many West Indian children did not have the supportive settling-in period for, as they were English speakers in the main, they went straight into full-time schooling.

SCOPE

It was at this time (the early 1960s) that the Schools Council project English for Immigrant Pupils (commonly known as SCOPE) was launched and produced its English as a second language teaching materials and teachers' guides. This was also the time of the DES Form 7(i) requesting statistics of immigrant pupils: the so-called ten-year-rule statistics. By implication these statistics suggested that after ten years in Britain an immigrant family would cease to suffer from any educational difficulties that could be attributed to immigration and racial difference.

However, even during the life of the SCOPE project the emphasis began to shift from a wholly linguistic one to one that became more and more concerned with course content and concept formation. There began to be greater discussion of the cultures and communities from which the immigrants had come, and of the teaching materials that would be more generally appropriate. This was in part because teachers could not simply teach the English language, they had to teach *about* something. Also, teachers closely involved with immigrants began to learn more about their culture and lifestyles and to sense the importance of these to individuals and minority communities.

Integration

This shift of emphasis brought into use the word 'integration'. The idea of assimilation and absorption into the majority culture began to lose favour. The significant educational differences between assimilationist and integrationist stances were that the integrationists believed that factors other than the teaching of English and culture shock had to be taken into account in the education of immigrants. Contrary to the assimilationist belief that, given English language fluency, the immigrant would disappear into the crowd, those arguing for integra-

tion claimed that a much more planned and detailed education and social programme needed to be undertaken if immigrants were to be able to integrate with the majority society. The emphasis was still upon integrating the minorities with the majority society and culture so that a culturally homogeneous society would be created. This meant that it was up to the minorities to change and adapt, and there was little or no pressure upon the majority society to modify or change its prevailing attitudes or practices. However, to enable integration to take place, it was argued that the majority society needed to be more aware of historical and cultural factors affecting different minorities. Knowledge and awareness would enable the majority society to make allowances for differences in lifestyle, culture and religion that might make it difficult for some immigrant groups to integrate with British society and would help to avoid the embarrassing mistakes that could arise from ignorance.

Informing teachers

The educational response to this integrationist view was that the emphasis shifted somewhat from teaching English as a second language to informing teachers about life in the Caribbean, life in the Punjab, and the basic tenets of Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism. There was a proliferation of 'background' courses for teachers of the 'life in other lands' type.

It was at this time that the Department of Education and Science and HM Inspectorate, in conjunction with LEAs and the Rowntree Trust, became involved in organizing courses of some length. These courses included a six-week visit by groups of teachers, heads and LEA advisers to the Caribbean or India. The whole response was, in part, a logical reaction to the fact that the vast majority of pupils belonging to ethnic minority groups then in British schools had been born abroad and had spent some time living there. It was also an attempt to avoid making irrelevant or wrong assumptions about ethnic minority groups and was not, initially, a plea for the positive recognition of cultural difference.

Cultural pluralism

With the passage of time, but more importantly with the emergence of a second generation of ethnic minority pupils, the realization has grown that neither assimilation nor integration has worked as it was intended to. The majority society has also come to understand that the early ideas of assimilation and integration were often at best patronizing, and at worst offensively dismissive towards other cultures and lifestyles. Increasingly, ethnic minorities all over the world are making it known that they wish to preserve certain cultural and religious differences, and dominant Western European and American societies are less confident that their way of life and social organization ought to be the model for the developing world to follow. This assertion of minority culture and the determination to maintain cultural continuity seems to be as true of actual minority communities, such as the American Indian and the Eskimo, as it is of those who are minorities because of immigration, such as the Sikh or Muslim in Britain.

British-born

The presence of second-generation, British-born blacks, Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims, who in many ways share the same aspirations, interests and experiences as white youngsters, but who are also clearly determined to retain contact with, and involvement in, a minority community and culture, has turned attention to the concept of a culturally pluralist society.

In such a society, it is argued, there should be integration in areas of common interest and concern, such as housing, employment and education. There should be genuine equality of opportunity in a public life that is built upon, caters for and accepts cultural and religious differences. In other words, pluralism is seen as a system that accepts that people's values and lifestyles are different and operates in such a way as to allow equal opportunity for all to play a full part in society.

This changed awareness of what the objectives of a multiracial society might be has arisen, in part, from the fact that to be black, brown or yellow in a predominantly white society is to be different from the majority. Such a person does not have the choice of disappearing into the crowd. It has also gained impetus from the frustrations caused by racial prejudice, discrimination and the lack of equal opportunities in certain areas of life. The most powerful drive has come from the growing belief that an individual needs to be secure in his own culture, and to see that culture respected by others if he is to be confident and competent in a new society and if he is to move out of the ghetto and into the mainstream of ordinary life.

Pluralist society

However, there are few examples of functioning, successful pluralist societies to hand, and if this is to be the aim of our multiracial society, many complex issues are raised for minority groups, for the majority and for education.

For minority groups the problems of cultural maintenance will differ from group to group, ranging from the problems of adaptation facing Moslem, Sikh and Hindu to the desperately difficult task that faces young people of Caribbean origins – the creation of a recognizable and homogeneous cultural identity. In education pluralism means broadening the content of the curriculum, teaching about different religions and cultures and about race and race relations for all pupils, as well as catering for the specific educational needs of some minority group pupils. These needs will continue to include the teaching of English as a second language and increasingly the difficult questions of how to provide educationally for those whose mother tongue is not English and for large numbers of bi-lingual pupils.

A pluralist society demands changes of practice and attitude on the part of the majority culture. To this end, as had already been said, teaching about the other cultures and lifestyles that make up the pluralist whole must be provided for all pupils and not only for pupils from ethnic minority groups. Such teaching will raise questions about many of the basic values and assumptions held by the majority society and will give rise to those fears that surface when people are faced with the pressure to change attitudes and views held for so long that they have become second nature. For a few this fear will lead to racism and support for those who stress white supremacy and the superiority of white European culture over all others. Consequently the risks of pluralism are great. It can so easily become separatism and create a society almost totally divided into its different groups across public as well as private life. Yet those divisions can happen as much as a consequence of *laissez-faire* as of planning. Already there are areas of British towns and cities that have the appearance of ethnic ghettoes, proportionately many more black people are unemployed and in low-level work than whites, a few schools are well on the way to becoming all black, all Moslem or all Sikh, and inner-city poverty is increasingly seen to have a black face.

Dangerous divisions

If we are to avoid these trends that can only lead to permanent and dangerous divisions in our society, we must not only meet the special needs of the minority groups, but also influence the attitudes of all teachers, all pupils and the majority society in such a way that cultural and racial differences are not seen as signs of inferiority, nor as threatening our way of life, nor as a dilution of all that British society has stood for. Rather they should be seen as different responses to the difficult business of living and as such, in the words of the Green Paper *Education in Schools*,* an 'enrichment of our culture . . . if only we have the imagination to accept it'. Thus, in a culturally and ethnically pluralist society there are two inter-related issues facing the education system:

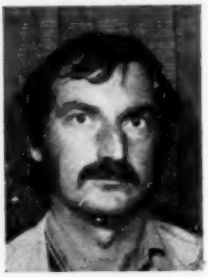
—the nature of educational provision in multiracial schools in areas of ethnic minority settlement; and,
—the nature of educational provision for all pupils in a multiracial, pluralist society.

The first of these raises the question of the special educational needs of ethnic minority groups. The second is mainly concerned with education's role in encouraging positive attitudes towards cultural and ethnic minorities and promoting healthy race relations. The two are interdependent, as the recognition of special need and the genuine will to meet those needs depend upon the attitudes of the majority towards the minority groups. Satisfying specific educational needs will do little to remove the problems of discrimination and social division if mutual suspicion and fear, based on ignorance and cultural myopia, persist across the different ethnic groupings that constitute contemporary British society. It is important for the majority community to realize that minority cultures are an established and, as far as can be seen, a lasting component of the British scene. It is also important that this realization is brought about in a positive way, through an emphasis on the strength of cultural diversity rather than through an excessively problem-orientated approach. Furthermore, the most effective contribution that schools can make to combating racism is to ensure that the knowledge and information handled in schools is of such a kind that it removes the ignorance upon which much racial bigotry, prejudice and discrimination are based.

Onerous task

The complexity of the educational and social issues involved gives teachers a very onerous and difficult task to perform – a task most of them were not prepared for in their teacher training nor in their own experiences of life. It is easy for society to lay the problem down at the door of education and leave it there, but if teachers are to tackle the changes of attitude, practice and approach demanded, they deserve the support and understanding of society.

* Department of Education and Science. *Education in Schools: A Consultative Document*. Cmnd 6869. London: HM Stationery Office, 1977.



Trends 1979/4

A multicultural curriculum: beyond the orthodoxy

Rob Jeffcoate
Lecturer in Education, Open University

In 1979 two simple propositions can be taken as axiomatic: first, the scope of the regular school curriculum should reflect the multicultural reality of Britain and the world, and, second, its portrayal of minority cultures or cultures overseas should not be token, stereotyped or in other ways inaccurate. Critical analysis and empirical investigation need now to be directed at the orthodox view of the multicultural curriculum which has built up around these unexceptionable propositions over the last decade.

Aims, innovation and evaluation

The orthodox view is open to criticism for what it says, implies, or does not say about three curriculum areas: aims, innovation and evaluation. Where those of us who contributed to its formulation went understandably wrong was in anchoring the justification for a multicultural curriculum to a 'pathological' model of British society that was derived from scientific, ideological and impressionistic assessments of racism and its impact on children.*

It is incumbent on schools to develop multicultural curricula, the argument ran, because as a result of their growing up in an environment where racism is the norm, white children in Britain are adopting dismissive or patronizing views of other races and cultures while their black and brown peers are prone to negative self-images, ambivalent cultural identities and academic underachievement.

Justification

The trouble with this as a justification is partly that some of the concepts deployed ('attitude', 'self-image', 'identity') are vague and elusive, and partly that the data at stake are necessarily ephemeral. It is at least conceivable, for instance, that racism may no longer be a major public issue in ten years' time (after all, the Political and Economic Planning† evidence showed a decline in discrimination between the mid-sixties and the mid-seventies), and there are already research findings to suggest that Afro-Caribbean adolescents are self-confident and at ease in their blackness, and that the picture of

* I must admit to having been a subscriber to this view. See, for example, my articles 'Schools and Prejudice' in *Trends in Education*, Autumn, 1975 and 'Curriculum Planning in Multiracial Education' in *Educational Research*, June 1976.

† A research organization (now amalgamated with the Centre for Studies in Social Policy Ltd. to form the Policy Studies Institute) which was founded to 'contribute to more effective planning and policy making by Government and industry by studying selected problems and publishing the results'.

scholastic achievement among children belonging to minority groups is by no means uniformly bleak.*

Unfortunately some of the advocates of the orthodox view are ideologically committed to race relations being bad and getting worse; were they actually to improve, the orthodoxy would be left without a justification. As it is, the development of a multicultural curriculum can be justified on less convoluted and tendentious grounds. The first, implicit in the first of my propositions, is that the curriculum should be truthful about the world; the second is that children belonging to minority groups have a right to find their cultures prominently and accurately represented in what they study at schools; and the third (more compelling perhaps for teachers than for logicians) is that a multicultural curriculum is more interesting and enjoyable than a monocultural one.

Respect

The reliance of the orthodox view on a pathological model of British society has resulted in a moralistic curriculum aim which is usually expressed in terms of instilling in children respect for their own and others' cultures. A number of objections can be raised to such an aim. Obviously, in the first place, there are difficulties over the definition of 'culture' and how children (or for that matter their teachers) can know where their 'own' cultures begin and end. For example, criticism has rightly been levelled at curriculum innovations in the humanities which seem to assume that cultures are observed, described and collected, not lived. Cultures become anthologies of fossilized exotica rather than complex patterns of behaviour and belief which, while preserving a continuity with the past, are adaptive and dynamic in the present.

More puzzling and worrying is the idea that the curriculum should instil 'respect' for cultures – however defined and whoever they may belong to. It is legitimate to ask whether this aim is meant to apply to all cultures or to all aspects of all cultures. To Afrikanerdom, say? Certainly there is no more vigorous or potent culture in contemporary Africa; it boasts its own language, literature and variety of the Christian religion, and a proud history of courageous endeavour and pioneering resourcefulness. Achievements to admire, without doubt; but at its heart (indeed, many Afrikaners would argue, vital to its survival) Afrikanerdom contrives to accommodate apartheid and the systematic oppression of black people. It would be proper to expect children studying Afrikanerdom seriously to reach some measure of understanding of its achievements, beliefs and rituals. However, although empathetic insight into the Afrikaners' own point of view might well

* For recent evidence on black adolescents' self-attitudes, see Louden, Delroy. 'Self-Esteem and Focus of Control: Some Findings on Immigrant Adolescents in Britain'. in *New Community* Vol. VI No. 3 1978; and Stone, Maureen. 'Effects of Educational Intervention on the Self-Concepts and Attitudes of West Indian Children in London' (unpublished MS) Department of Sociology, University of Surrey, 1978. For recent evidence on patterns of achievement, see Driver, Geoffrey. 'Cultural Competence, Social Power and School Achievement: West Indian Pupils in the West Midlands' in *New Community* Vol. 5 No. 4 1977; and Fuller, Mary. 'Black Girls in a London Comprehensive' in R. Deem (editor) *Women and Schooling*. London: Routledge, 1978, both of which argue that, with black girls more than holding their own, sex rather than race may be the crucial variable in the academic performance of black youngsters.

be integral to this process, anthropological understanding, whether detached or participatory, could never be sufficient as a goal. The ultimate aim has to be the critical understanding of a rational, sensitive, evaluating human being. As for 'respect', children can decide for themselves how much (if any) Afrikanerdom merits on the basis of the knowledge they have acquired in the classroom.

Scrutiny and reappraisal

Afrikanerdom is a useful case to take because it is anathema to the world community and unrepresented among Britain's minority cultures. Yet the same principles hold for those cultures that some children in our multicultural schools could call their 'own' and which have a more palpable claim to 'respect'. We are by now accustomed to the idea that schools should engage white English children in a critical revaluation of their cultural heritage so that they may choose their own cultural affiliations and forge their own cultural syntheses. While minority cultures are certainly entitled to inclusion in the English school curriculum, they are not entitled to inclusion on their own special terms. Inclusion for them does not mean the privilege of uncritical adulation, any more than it does for native British culture; it means the privilege of undergoing scrutiny and reappraisal at the hands of the younger generation. Equally children from minority groups are entitled to the same rights of self-determination as their English peers. By studying Islam in school, for instance, children, whether Muslim or not, can expect to learn about its strengths and accomplishments; they can also expect to learn about its weaknesses and failures.

Critical intelligence

Recently I had a long interview with a fourteen-year-old Sikh girl who was adamant about controlling her own destiny and to that end seemed to be developing a sharp critical intelligence. The interview was in connexion with an evaluation I had undertaken of the multicultural humanities course she and her classmates were following. She had just completed some work on India which she saw as supplementing the knowledge she had gained from her parents and from a visit two years ago to her 'home' village in the Punjab. She began with some unflattering observations on the Raj – 'a disaster . . . they didn't give India a chance' – but the iniquities of imperialism were nothing, in her eyes, compared with the iniquities of Western journalists and filmmakers who insisted on giving 'a bad impression' of India by confining their attention to poverty and suffering. It was a point she reverted to more than once – 'they're not all beggars there', 'India was building temples and things like that when the British were thatching roofs . . .'.

Not that her opinion of classical Indian civilization was entirely favourable. She detected absurdities in Hinduism and Sikhism – 'all those Gods', 'miracles' and the notion of 'divine punishment'. But she reserved the full vigour of her youthful disapprobation for the discriminatory treatment of girls in Indian families. She objected repeatedly to the restraints imposed on her personal freedom, particularly in regard to relations with the opposite sex – 'What's so wrong about talking to a boy?' 'It's silly when you think about it. It's really stupid.' 'The parents don't trust their kids in an Indian family.' 'You've got to try and get it into your parents' heads that this is a different country.' Her bitter experience of Indian family life had even affected her attitude towards Mrs Thatcher's accession to the premiership. Although Mrs Thatcher might be only 'good for the rich people', she was at least a woman and, more important, might with a bit of luck reduce the chances of being saddled with an Indian-born fiancé –

'They're stupid. All they want is kids.' When I queried how representative her opinions were, she retorted passionately, 'You ask any Indian girl how she feels and she'll say the same'. What sustained her was the conviction that when her generation became parents there would be sweeping (but not too sweeping) changes. 'It is going to die out', she assured me.

Condescending attitude

The free play of the critical mind, exemplified in embryonic form by this one Sikh girl, is precisely the sort of skill multicultural schools should be fostering and developing. It is sometimes maintained (condescendingly, I believe) that it is too much to ask children from minority groups, vulnerable in the face of racism, to adopt critical stances in relation to their own cultures and that 'ethnic reinforcement' is a more pressing interim goal. This philosophy presumably explains the uncritical zeal with which some schools have latched on to Rastafarianism as a piece of cultural exotica to compensate for putatively negative self-images in black pupils, and the dearth of Taj Mahals and Diwalis in the Caribbean. Black radicals have been quick to condemn this as control by cooption, neither better nor worse, only more insidious, than the control by exclusion exerted by other schools.

However that may be, the atavistic obscurantism of the Rastafarian creed is very much in need of critical classroom attention. Interestingly, black girls already appear to regard their brothers' and boyfriends' adherence to it, whether literal or symbolic, with scorn tempered by irony. All in all, I can see no good reason for withholding from minority group pupils the right to engage in critical reappraisal of their cultural heritages. In my experience it is an opportunity they welcome, provided, of course, critical reappraisal is directed equally and evenly at all the cultures represented in the classroom.

Flirting with indoctrination

What is essentially unacceptable about the orthodoxy's moralistic curriculum aim is the concept of teaching it implies. To make the aim of the curriculum that children should be instilled with respect for various unspecified cultures is to reduce teaching to bucket-filling instruction, indeed to flirt with indoctrination. If learning is about enquiry, discovery and problem-solving, then so are teaching and curriculum planning. The proper aim of a multicultural curriculum is to furnish children with the knowledge and skills to come to a critical understanding of the different cultures impinging on them, including their own, in order to decide for themselves which, or which bits of which, are worthy of respect, allegiance and adoption, and to answer for themselves the fundamental question – 'How shall I live?' In negotiating their own answers they will, inevitably, have to contend with the values and attitudes of their teachers. While children will rightly expect to be shielded from pedagogic strategies designed to impose particular attitudes or values upon them (such as, for example, respect for other cultures), they will also expect to know where their teachers stand on salient political, moral and cultural issues. I have always shared my opinions with my pupils – such as those on Afrikanerdom, Islam and Rastafarianism touched on in this article. The point to underline is that what should dominate classroom debate are not the teacher's views, nor indeed those of garrulous or forceful pupils, but the publicly accredited criteria for distinguishing truth from falsehood into which all pupils have a right to be initiated.

Vehement rhetoric

It is a pity that the orthodox view of the multicultural curriculum has not complemented the vehemence of its rhetoric with an agenda for

action that reflects the realities of life in multicultural classrooms. The last decade has yielded a wealth of platitudinous injunctions and facile nostrums, but the number of detailed descriptions of curriculum innovation and evaluation in multicultural education can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In the next decade we need to hear rather more from teachers and classroom researchers about what happens, and what makes for 'success', when classroom and school innovations are initiated and implemented.* An admirable theoretical foundation has already been laid by David Jenkins and others in an incisive article entitled 'Racism and Educational Evaluation'† which adumbrates a 'democratic' and 'pluralistic' style of evaluation dedicated to describing, illuminating and judging multicultural innovations in the curriculum from the full diversity of participant perspective.

Two fallacies—special curriculum and needs

At the same time, two fallacies have to be scotched which are a direct outcome of deeply entrenched schoolteacher resistance to the two 'unexceptionable' propositions with which I began. (It should not be forgotten that there are still headteachers sending Asian children home from school for wearing traditional dress). Because of the strength of this resistance, the orthodox view has been obliged to make out 'special' cases for the development of a multicultural curriculum and for the needs of ethnic minority children. These have, regrettably, resulted, on the one hand, in calls for separate Hindu, Sikh and Muslim schools (as though the existing indoctrination of Christian and Jewish children justified the future indoctrination of Hindu, Sikh and Muslim children) and, on the other, in a variety of government, LEA and school policy initiatives (witness the, in my opinion, completely unnecessary government enquiry into the education of ethnic minority pupils) which constitute, as often as not, misrepresentations of 'real' need, deflections from urgently required courses of action or, at worst, deceptions to avoid doing anything at all.

There is nothing 'special' about a multicultural curriculum. It is a perfectly natural response to the altered nature of British society and, for many teachers, to the cultural composition of the classes they teach. Nor is there anything 'special' about the educational need of ethnic minority children. The needs of all children who are born and will see out their lives in Britain, no matter what the circumstances of their ethnic origin, are basically and irreversibly the same. It is to be earnestly hoped that they will be more fully and equitably met in the next ten years than they have been in the last.‡

* Two recent books which try to fill the gap from rather different points of view are: Jeffcoate, Rob. *Positive Image: Towards a Multiracial Curriculum*. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1979, and Searle, Chris. *The World in a Classroom*. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1977.

† Jenkins, David, Stephen Kemmis, Barry Macdonald and Gajendia K. Verma. 'Racism and Educational Evaluation' in Gajendia K. Verma and Christopher Bagley (editors). *Race, Education and Identity*. London: Macmillan, 1979.

‡ The starting points for this article were an unpublished paper on the multicultural curriculum by Alan James of Derby Lonsdale College of Higher Education and a discussion document 'The Teaching of English in Multicultural Britain' prepared by a working party of the National Association for the Teaching of English. I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to both.

Trends 1979/4

A second-generation immigrant's view of society – aims, aspirations and educational needs

David Moore
Head of Religious Studies, Tulse Hill School, London

It is, when one thinks about it, impossible for a person to be a second-generation immigrant, simply because the status of immigrant is not hereditary. I am not a second-generation immigrant; I am a black Briton. Many of the children now within the education system are descended from immigrants, but they themselves are either black or Asian British. The adjective 'black' or 'Asian', denotes merely the cultural aspect of their lives, in the same way that Irish might.

Variety of cultures

In other words, the children in our schools today are able to live within a variety of cultures, feeling free and able to cross from one to another without being made to feel uncomfortable.

The most important point is, however, that *all* children should be able to feel this, and not just those who by an accident of birth have to live in this manner. Furthermore, the ability to move from one group to another is of more importance in areas with no sizable 'coloured' or white group, since it is the children in these areas who are more susceptible to notions of stereotyping – the cause of mistrust and misunderstanding.

In looking at terminology, it is important that we understand that all pupils, irrespective of colour or race, have a cultural or sub-cultural heritage. This is, to use the 'in' language, the 'roots' – the foundation upon which all other things are built. If one disregards the base, or holds it of little value, it follows that that is what one does to the child, and it is also possible to cause the child to gain a poor self-image by one's attitudes to him and to his cultural identity.

Childhood

All people are formed to some extent by the environment in which they live, and by the experiences that they had in childhood. Much of my thinking on the needs, aims and aspirations of children was formulated by my own experiences of life and schooling in the fifties and early sixties.

1963 . . . what did multicultural mean then?

The answer is: remarkably little. It meant even less if one lived in the 'White Highlands' of an outer London borough. Indians had begun to settle in Southall but that was still a small, insignificant urban district council on the borders of its larger neighbour – Ealing.

Having spent my early years in a multicultural, if not totally cosmopolitan, area of central London, Ealing seemed in comparison rather colourless, even bland. As a small child, I had lived in an area

whose inhabitants were Jewish, Greek, and Turkish Cypriot, Italian, Irish, Chinese, Indian, Polish and West Indian. Here there were Regency houses divided into flats and bed sits, with machine shops in the basements. They produced dresses for the large department stores in Oxford Street, which acted as one of the boundaries of the area, the other boundaries being Great Portland Street, the West London Synagogue and the telephone exchange, on to which they built the GPO Tower.

It was a world in which I became used to hearing a variety of languages – I can remember being able to swear in at least six of them by the age of ten. I took it for granted that friendships crossed cultural boundaries, because it was normal. In other words I did not think of 'my Chinese friend' or 'my Jewish friend'. I was not aware of colour difference in a negative sense; indeed, the restrictions caused by difference were taken as a normal part of life.

From quite an early age I came to realize that birthday parties could not be held on a Friday or Saturday, otherwise Jewish or Muslim friends could not attend. I took for granted that people wore different clothing, and that when I had to go to school, someone else would have a day off for some festival or another. Indeed, I even bought Hanukkah cards for Jewish friends and sent them out instead of Christmas cards.

Ealing

Although my school was a complex world of different customs and attitudes, as an inhabitant I found it very simple to come to terms with.

Then we moved to Ealing. . . . Even though sizable numbers of Indians and West Indians were beginning to appear in school, no account or recognition of these groups was made, with the exception of reception classes for teaching English to some of them. Even when this provision was made in my school the lessons took place in the classroom furthest away from the main school – cut off, as it were.

The rest of the curriculum did not take into account any changes in the make-up of the surrounding society. The Indian Mutiny was still taught in the traditional way, which left one with the impression that it was an atrocity committed by a group refusing to submit to a civilizing force. We also dealt with slavery in such a way that one actually got the impression that it was invented for the sole purpose of Britain's abolishing it.

The whole emphasis of the institution was to produce 'English' pupils who would have the cultural identity of Englishmen. It was a concept of assimilation.

At one point in my school career I found myself in front of the head with all of the other 'coloured' pupils. He asked me what language I spoke at home. At the time I thought it rather strange as I had been in the school for five years. It seemed rather late to worry about my ability to speak English. However, apparently the authorities required this information and the head had dutifully initiated interviews with pupils. He said, 'Now David, what language do you speak at home?' I replied with my usual London accent: 'Swahili'. This he dutifully wrote down, not even checking what I had said against the school records, where I had been incorrectly written down as West Indian.

Assimilation

It was not that the school was totally uncaring, nor that it was deliberately organized to produce anglophiles. The members of the staff at that time were very caring about their pupils, but they also believed in the then accepted idea of assimilation. They were, in effect, involved

in producing generations of 'grey' people – English in the cultural sense, with a slight variation in skin pigmentation. Assimilation meant that one did not accept differences since one was now in Britain, and that one should be as 'they' were. That is why there was no need to examine what was being taught, and why no recognition was given to the changing needs of society as it became far more culturally aware.

This system was based on the idea that the British had something that was intrinsically superior to give immigrants, and that the immigrants had little of importance to give in return. This, in turn, led to pupils having low self esteem and thinking that their parents were in some way odd for not having the same attitudes as the British. It also led to conflict between the child and the home, and may have helped to exacerbate the situation today where many Asian parents find themselves in cultural conflict with the school system, having seen its effects on their older children.

If any one thing helped me to come through this stage of life with any sense of personal dignity and self esteem, it was my home environment. I was made aware that I had a cultural heritage that was different from the school's concept, and that it was as valid as that of the school. It did not cause conflict, it simply made it possible to examine, and move in and out of, other cultures with ease, without drawing comparisons of inferiority and superiority.

Respect for differences

The total effect of my own schooling has been to make me determined not to repeat the mistakes of the sixties in my treatment of pupils in school.

The needs of all pupils are basically the same – to be treated with dignity and respect as people. With the respect for the individual goes the notion of respect for those things that have helped to form the individual – his religion and culture – for in most cases the two cannot be distinguished. This concept of respect transcends all racial classifications, and is not bound by ideas of nationality. It acknowledges differences and treats them with due respect and empathy – all are equally valid.

This concept also means that one has to accept sub-cultural differences and the validity of class groupings, and not treat them either as something that does not exist, or as something that is there but can be ignored.

Parents

As a pupil I attended a school where parents sent their children to be taught and taught well. They had high expectations, and this has not changed over the last twenty years. Parents today, irrespective of colour, want their children to do well. However, the concern of black and Asian parents for academic achievement is based on the cultural status of education in their homeland. Parents expect their children to do well and to succeed in employment. Why else would they have come to Britain, in many cases, to take jobs below their own ability? They came to find a better future for their children, and it is a sad fact that schools in many cases let them down.

School

To be able to fulfil the needs of the pupils and the wishes of the parents, schools have to take on board the idea that Britain is a multicultural society, and that it always has been. The nature of British society has been formed over a long period of time by successive layers of differing cultures.

To put across these ideas, the school must take a positive role. Individual teachers within an institution cannot do it by themselves.

They may begin the process, and a group may collectively push the idea forward, but unless the school as an institution underpins it there will be friction and the idea will fail.

By accepting differences, a school is not breaking itself down into small cultural groups, and further, no one is advocating Black, Asian, Irish or White studies. They belong to the late sixties and do not have a role to play in today's scheme of things.

What is advocated is a re-examination of the curriculum and the pastoral care process and how they assist pupils from different cultural backgrounds to understand each other and work together. It does not mean factionalizing, but finding a unity in variation. After all, it is not the role of a school to produce generations of carbon copy images. It is to develop each person to the point where they have a concept of self awareness and a good self-image.

Only by doing this can a school hope to help its pupils, be they black or white. Perhaps in many respects it is even more important to do this in areas where there is a small black or Asian community, since, as has already been mentioned, it is in the 'White Highlands' that people are more susceptible to stereotyping.

Future needs

The overwhelming need in the future is that people come as quickly as possible to a recognition of Britain and its society as it is now – that is, multiracial and multicultural. There is a need to gear our teaching to the challenge of preparing pupils to face a society which has to change its role from that of an important imperial power to that of a country acting in association with other countries. There is a deep need to re-examine what is taught and the way it is taught. To do this, people have to rethink their attitudes and throw away many of the strange stereotypes that they have of people and places. We have to accept that all pupils have a cultural background from which we can learn about the strengths and weaknesses of our own culture.

In inner city schools there is a need to face the situation of under-achievement which the addition of black and Asian pupils has highlighted – a situation that is linked to housing conditions and services provided by the Local Authority.

Teachers

There is also an overwhelming need for changes in teachers' treatment of children. Differences in child rearing mean that children respond in different ways, and that they have expectations of the teacher that may be in direct conflict to the role the teacher believes he has.

Cultural differences do affect the way people respond to each other, and it is therefore simple-minded to say that we treat all pupils the same. To treat all pupils alike is to subjugate them and the background from which they come.

There is an ever-increasing need for teachers and their pupils to examine the nature of the society in which we live, and to do this they cannot rely on books published over twenty years ago. Doing Jamaica or India is not good enough. We have to consider what we mean by the language in use. What are we implying, by language such as 'the indigenous population', 'the host community' and 'the immigrant'? Is it true that those who are here do not really belong, and at some time may be going home?

We have to accept that those who live here and those who were born here are British, and that they may have a background that is wider than that of many with whom we have come into contact before.

Pupils and local communities

There is also a need to recognize that pupils do have high aspirations for themselves, even though they may display indifference. There is a need to publicize success. Black and Asian pupils do well at achool, but we hear more about the failure rate. Even some black and Asian leaders are quick to point out failure, but neglect to make a great deal of those boys and girls that do well, not only academically, but in all other fields.

This may seem like a swipe at some black leaders, but while some schools continue a system of suspensions and run 'sink sets' where there appears to be a predominance of black pupils, these leaders will find easy ammunition to throw at the education system. If schools intend to overcome the difficulties that they face without the support of their local communities, they will find themselves more and more distanced from those who would support them.

Schools must tie themselves closer to the communities that they serve, in other words the development towards community-based schools must be expanded. This, however, must be achieved without some schools being used as dumping grounds for more difficult pupils. The whole subject of disruptive pupils must also be examined to see why pupils are disruptive.

It cannot follow that black pupils are by nature more disruptive than white pupils. The way children are treated and the curriculum they are taught has a great deal to do with it. If children are presented with a poor self-image at an early age, then they cannot fail but to have little regard for themselves or others.

Respect and dignity

As a black teacher, I hope to afford all my pupils the respect and dignity they deserve. They are expected to do their best and are presented with materials that are relevant to their needs as well as stretching them. Openness is important. Above all else pupils are expected to achieve. Second best is not accepted, nor is not trying – there is no being excused from making an effort, because a pupil cannot be bothered.

I do not believe that children perform better if they have a black teacher. They need to see good black and Asian teachers. If they are presented with bad ones, the greater is their sense of failure and the lower their image of black people in society.

This poem won its author, who was a pupil at Tulse Hill School and now works in the media resources department there, a prize in the Senior Secondary section of the annual 3M Young Poet Awards—1979.*

Blues a rule

Door open, passage pack.
Heat scarch me, Weed water I.
Atmosphere electriiying.
Music rude.
Heavy weight a rock I,
'Shaka' vibrate I.

People them hard in a corner.
Wall-paper pattern tek a beating,
As people de-deh.
Figures moving sweetly,
Legs discreetly.
Boay sweat a drown me.
Heat mus a bus 90 degrees,
An man a feel uneasy.

* 3M United Kingdom Limited.

Lucuzade a do it now.
Thirst quench, man, refresh.
Currie goat hot, as beat a blow,
Rhythm a tek me
blood a boil with excitement,
Jus have to grab a younglin
Boay
How blues dread.

Donald Campbell (18)

Trends 1979/4

Fifteen thousand hours: findings and implications

Barbara Maughan and Janet Ouston
Research workers, Institute of Psychiatry, University of London

How much of a child's development is influenced by the school he attends? Barbara Maughan and Janet Ouston – two of the research workers involved in the publication of the widely acclaimed Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children* *– consider the question and assess the implications of their findings for schools.*

Schools are complex institutions, required to meet the varied needs of a wide range of pupils. Although special provision will be necessary for some children, for the majority, either by design or necessity, the ordinary school will be the setting for their learning and development over a long period. How can schools best approach the task of ensuring that their setting provides a beneficial environment? The question can be posed at many different levels, from concern with the individual child to a view of the school as a whole. Our recent research in London secondary schools has been focused at this wider level, and has pointed to the importance of the broader patterns of social organization in school life. Not only do schools vary considerably in the sorts of day-to-day experiences they provide for their pupils, but these differences seem to be quite closely associated with differences in the children's progress. Schools can do much to create a positive climate for teaching and learning.

The research

The research involved a detailed study of twelve non-selective inner London secondary schools serving a socially disadvantaged area. It had its origins in a longitudinal survey of children in the area, and was influenced by research from both Britain and America which indicated that schools varied quite markedly in their rates of attendance, reading problems and academic attainment and even in factors such as delinquency. What was not clear was why this should be so and whether the variations reflected a school influence on the pupils or rather a continuation of differences in the original intakes. The

* Rutter, Michael, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore and Janet Ouston, with Alan Smith. *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children.* London: Open Books, 1979.

earlier studies had been unable satisfactorily to disentangle these two possibilities.

Because we had information on the children's characteristics prior to secondary transfer, our own study allowed us to separate these alternatives. We followed up the survey children from primary school to the end of their compulsory schooling and, at the same time, we made a detailed study of twelve of the secondary schools they had attended. Our particular interest was in the characteristics of the schools as social institutions, and the kinds of environment for learning and teaching they provided.

Findings

The broad pattern of the results suggests that the schools did differ in their social environments, and that these differences were systematically associated with varying rates of problems and progress among their pupils. We took a number of different indicators of the children's progress: attendance rates, behaviour in school, results in public examinations, and levels of officially recorded delinquency. There were quite clear differences between the schools in each of these areas, which could not be accounted for by differences in their original intakes. The findings on behaviour in school and examination attainments provide examples of some of the important points that emerged.

Behaviour

We had assessed the behaviour of children in the schools in a number of different ways to get as rounded a picture as possible. Our final measures included very detailed observations in the classroom of both work-oriented and disruptive behaviour; observations in playgrounds and corridors; and the children's own reports (given in anonymous questionnaires) of incidents such as skipping lessons, writing *graffiti*, or damaging school property. The 'profiles' of different schools in each of these areas tended to be very similar, so that where 'on task' behaviour in lessons was high, problems in the playground, levels of damage and *graffiti* all tended to be low. The schools with predominantly 'good' behaviour could not be simply identified by characteristics such as their size, sex composition, the age of their building or the space available to them. More importantly, perhaps, they were not schools with especially favoured intakes. The conclusion seemed to be that children's behaviour in secondary school cannot be viewed only as a continuation of previously established patterns, but that it also represented, at least in part, a response to their current environment.

Examination results

Turning to the question of examination attainments, our follow-up of one age group of children from primary school enabled us to take account of their earlier measured ability when looking at their results at sixteen. When adjustments had been made for intake differences, and for variations in examination entry policy among the schools, there were still marked variations between schools in their patterns of results. One point of particular interest was that the more 'successful' schools tended to be successful for the majority of their pupils. Where pupils in the top ability band achieved above the average for children at their level of ability, children from lower ability groups, or from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, also tended to achieve well. The results once again seemed to suggest that some kind of school-wide influence was at work, enabling children at all points in the ability spectrum to fulfil their potential.

Our information about the schools themselves, and the tenor of day-to-day life within them, provided us with important pointers as to what those influences might be. We found that a range of factors

in the social organization of the schools, from the nature of interactions in the classroom to much broader questions of school-wide policy and practice, were associated with these variations in the children's progress. For the most part, questions of administrative status, buildings and facilities did not prove to be important determinants, at least for this sample of schools. Instead, the factors which seemed to characterize practice in the more successful schools were very much open to planning and change by schools and teachers themselves. They fell broadly into five groupings, each concerned with a rather different facet of school life.

Classroom interactions

Beginning at the very detailed level of events and interactions in the classroom, we found that a series of features differentiated between the schools. We had spent a whole week with a third-year class in each school, staying with them through all their lessons and recording details of their activities and interactions with teachers. These observations gave us very rich information about day-to-day life in the schools.

The picture we gained, in all the schools, was very far from the 'blackboard jungle' image of city schools and classrooms that is so often advanced: to take only one example, in twelve weeks of observations, we saw only one incident so serious as to stop the course of a lesson completely.

There were, nevertheless, important differences between the schools. In the more successful schools, lessons were more work-oriented, with the teacher spending considerably more time focused on the subject-matter of the lesson than, for example, dealing with children's behaviour or setting up equipment and distributing resources. Lessons started and ended more promptly and, when they were set up to be class-based (as the majority were), teachers more consistently maintained contact with the whole group.

These differences in teaching approaches did not seem to be simply a question of teacher experience. In all the schools, newly appointed staff had greater difficulties in classroom management, but the findings also pointed to distinct differences between *schools,* over and above the question of teacher experience. It seemed that the broader organization of school life could perhaps support and help the individual teacher in the classroom and that this was being achieved more effectively in some schools than others.

Staff organization

Interviews with staff suggested a number of factors that might be important here. In the more successful schools, teachers were more likely to work together as a group in both curriculum and discipline matters, courses were more likely to be planned and coordinated within departments, and there was a general consensus on how particular types of problem would be dealt with in the school. Alongside these factors, it was also more likely that teachers' own work would be looked at by senior staff and that decision-making in the school as a whole would be largely centralized among senior staff, but with opportunities for all teachers to express their views. Although we had not set out to explore questions of staff organization in detail, all these factors did seem to point to ways in which consensus and continuity were achieved in the more successful schools.

Rewards and punishments

Turning now to factors that affected the pupils more directly, some very interesting findings emerged concerning rewards and sanctions. We had collected details of all kinds of rewards and punishments,

from praise or telling-off in lessons, to more formal, school-wide approaches such as detentions and the distribution of prizes. Taking all these pointers together, a rather consistent picture emerged.

First, although levels of punishments varied considerably between the schools, they seemed to have little bearing – either positive or negative – on outcomes for the children. Two exceptions were unofficial physical sanctions, which were clearly associated with poorer behaviour and very frequent tellings-off in lessons. It seemed that very frequent reprimands in lessons might well set off a negative spiral of events that could actually aggravate the very behaviour they were intended to curb. Apart from these two particular examples, however, all the other findings on punishment suggested little connexion with outcome.

By contrast, all kinds of rewards, from praise in lessons to more public commendations or formal reward systems, did seem to be of value. The more immediate forms of feedback, such as encouragement in lessons, showed stronger associations with good outcome, but the overall picture provided a sharp contrast with the results on punishments. This contrast became even more striking when we found that in all schools punishments or reprimands actually tended to be more frequent than praise – in the ratio of perhaps two or three to one. Sanctions are clearly an essential element in school life, and we do not doubt or in any way underestimate the problems of evolving methods of rewarding children that can retain their 'currency', especially for older pupils. The findings do suggest, however, that when this had been done, it was of considerable value.

Pupil conditions

The more successful schools in our sample also provided rather different experiences for their pupils in a number of other respects. By and large, the children were expected to take greater responsibility within the school, both in day-to-day matters such as caring for their books and folders and in more general ways, such as having posts or jobs in their classes. They were more likely to take part in school meetings or assemblies, and the general conditions provided for them within the school – whether in terms of facilities such as a telephone or tuckshop, in the case of school buildings, or in the provision of acceptable and flexible arrangements for pastoral care – seemed to reflect an active concern for their welfare.

Academic emphasis

The final difference between the more and the less successful schools concerns the emphasis placed on the teaching and learning functions of schooling, or the broadly 'academic' aspects of school life. We are not, of course, referring here to a concern with only the more able children, but to a range of indications that teaching and learning were seen as central aspects of schooling for all the pupils. We found this reflected in items as varied as teachers' expectations of children's exam success, and in the checking of the staff's setting of homework or keeping of record books. The setting of homework seemed to be an important indicator here, as did the display of children's work about the school. When we had asked the *children* what were the most important goals of schooling from their point of view, the majority had chosen preparation for work or passing examinations. The emphasis on these aspects of schooling, which emerged in the more successful schools, did seem to reflect what the children themselves were expecting from their time at school.

Atmosphere and ethos

To sum up, our findings suggest that the atmosphere and ethos within a school, as expressed in the sorts of items we have discussed above, can play an important part in creating a positive environment for learning and development. Where this has been achieved, progress for the majority of the pupils seems to be enhanced and doubtless it is easier to meet the particular needs of individual pupils more appropriately. The school environment can clearly provide an important influence on children's development, and many of the crucial elements in that environment are open to schools and teachers to shape and change.

Implications for schools

Research findings of this kind should encourage schools to feel more confident that they can have a positive influence on their pupils' development and also to consider whether they are as successful in this as they might be. Often teachers feel that little can be achieved 'with children like this'; the daily problems of many inner city schools make longer-term success seem impossible either to plan for or to achieve. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of our work has been to show that it is possible to run a happy, well-ordered and successful school in a disadvantaged inner-city area.

A programme for action?

Do the findings of our research, outlined above, allow us to draw up a blueprint of the way to run a successful school? Certainly our results suggest that an emphasis on these aspects of school life would be likely to have beneficial results, but it seems unlikely that there will ever be just one successful way of running a school. There are, for example, many different ways of encouraging children to take responsibility at school.

We would expect our findings to be directly relevant to other inner-city, non-selective schools, but we have yet to establish whether comparable aspects of schooling would also emerge as important in a similar study of primary schools or small rural secondary schools. It seems very probable that they would, but there is no evidence to support this suggestion at present.

In addition, our description of the differences between more and less successful schools does not allow us to distinguish between those features of school life which promote success and those which exist as its consequence. An example of this point relates to the findings on pupil conditions: one of the items in this scale was the provision of a hot drinks machine for the pupils. In this case it seems likely that only a school which was functioning moderately well would be confident enough to acquire equipment so vulnerable to vandalism.

Issues of this kind will be understood only by carefully observing the effects of change in several different schools. Even then, causes and effects will be extremely difficult to identify in an organization as complex as a secondary school. For these reasons, it is impossible to give a detailed prescription for the perfect school. Our data do, however, suggest areas of school practice that might be particularly important in improving a school's performance. These areas are not the only ones of importance, but a school that performed poorly on most of our measures would be very unlikely to be successful. Thus our findings suggest some of the areas where innovation might have positive benefits for both pupils and teachers.

Influence on behaviour

There are two main conclusions that can be drawn from our research; both have practical implications for schools.

The first is that schools are able to influence the behaviour and attainments of their pupils. Our measure of in-school behaviour, for example, showed no relationship to many of the features of school intakes; schools with generally poor behaviour were not those with particularly difficult or disadvantaged intakes. High standards of behaviour at some schools resulted from their own policy and practices rather than from the characteristics of the pupils. Most schools serving an inner-city area will have some pupils who, owing to family or personal factors, might be difficult to manage in the classroom. Our findings suggest that some schools enable most of their children to achieve well at school regardless of problems of this kind.

Innovation

Second, our research suggests aspects of school life where innovation might be particularly worthwhile. Exactly how our findings are translated into action will depend on the characteristics of the school concerned. But choosing appropriate topics and methods of innovation is only part of the process of change. Successful change needs to be monitored to see how new policies are being implemented, and what effects they are having on both staff and pupils. If this is not done, innovations may be abandoned as unsuccessful without any clear understanding of why they have failed or how they might have been modified and made more successful. Also, before setting up an ambitious programme of change it is always valuable to have a clear description of the existing situation so that the effects of change can be evaluated.

Two different types of evaluation can be made. The first is concerned with the concurrent effects of change on both teachers and pupils and the second with longer-term outcomes. As an example of this process we can consider the case of a school that is concerned about the few opportunities younger, less-able pupils have to participate in the life of the school. The first step would be to examine the situation before any new procedures are introduced; it might become clear at this stage that some of these children participate more than others and that this is dependent upon the enthusiasm of the form tutor. This observation might well suggest ways of increasing the possibilities of participation. The next stage would be to choose two or three different strategies for encouraging pupils to take part in existing activities at school and also, perhaps, to introduce something quite new.

Evaluation

After a short while the evaluation process would start by finding the answers to a range of questions such as: 'Has participation actually increased overall?' 'Have different children become involved, or is it just that the same children have become more active?' 'Does the new scheme make excessive demands on teachers' time?' – and so on.

The final set of questions relate to the possible longer-term effects of the new programme: 'Has the attendance of these children improved?' 'Are they more enthusiastic about their work and better behaved in the classroom?' – and so on. Perhaps there are no discernible effects of this kind; if this is the case then it may be possible to suggest how the programme might be modified taking into account what has been learnt during its implementation.

Data

Schools often have a wealth of data available that could be used as background information for self-evaluation of the kind suggested here. Often teachers feel that routine statistics give no information about the important, less tangible aims of schooling, but is this always

true? The patterns of subject choice and attendance of older secondary school pupils, for example, might provide very interesting clues about their attitudes to school and these could be followed up in discussion groups. In general, schools have little experience and few resources that can be used to evaluate their own progress, and the traditional independence of the teachers has not encouraged the development of the relevant skills. Recently, however, many educational psychologists have become more interested in working with schools as well as with individual pupils, and they may have a valuable role to play both in implementing change and in evaluating its effects.

Our research has shown that some schools are more successful than others in providing an environment that enables children to develop both socially and intellectually. It suggests that innovation in particular aspects of school life will be most likely to have beneficial effects, and that careful monitoring and evaluation of such innovations will both increase the likelihood of success and also lead to a greater understanding of the relationships between school practice and outcome. The fifteen thousand hours of compulsory schooling might then become more rewarding, productive and enjoyable for many more children and their teachers.

Trends 1979/4

Why do girls underachieve?

Corinne Hutt
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*Why is it that girls in girls' schools generally do better than those in coeducational schools? Corinne Hutt suggests some possible reasons.**

It is a lamentable fact that girls and women underachieve in academic and occupational spheres. To argue that this underachievement is due to discrimination is fallacious, since it is evident in educational attainment long before discrimination in selection is operative. However, the fact that girls in girls' schools achieve a higher standard of performance and also opt for a wider range of subjects suggests that there are subtle social pressures operating unrecognized in the schools.

Attitudes

In the belief that attitudes – towards subjects, the opposite sex, competition, sex roles and careers – are as likely to influence scholastic attainment as ability, we carried out a survey of 200 secondary school pupils in an attempt to ascertain at least some of these. Although our results can in no way be considered definitive, we believe they raise important questions concerning educational practice, and hence we present them as suggestive pointers.

Half our sample was female and approximately half were from single-sex schools. All the schools were state schools, although the single-sex schools were more selective than the mixed ones. Half the sample consisted of thirteen- to fourteen-year-olds and the rest of fifteen- to sixteen-year-olds.

* The study on which this report is based was carried out in collaboration with Sue Kemp-Wheeler, Paula Boddington and Miranda Hughes.

Different perceptors

Girls and boys perceived the attributes of the sexes very differently. The great majority of boys considered that boys were better leaders than girls, but very few girls thought so – this belief was more strongly held in the mixed than in the single-sex schools. Girls saw themselves as more sensible than boys and had a favourable estimate of their own sex's intellectual abilities, as the table shows.

Responses of girls and boys to a statement concerning comparative cleverness

Statement:	Girls 'Boys are cleverer than girls at schoolwork'		Boys 'Girls are cleverer than boys at schoolwork'	
School	Mixed (percentage)	Single (percentage)	Mixed (percentage)	Single (percentage)
Response:				
Agree	0	0	24	18
Doubtful	22	22	47	50
Disagree	78	71	29	32

The similarity between the schools and the difference between the sexes here is striking. However, this confidence in the ability of girls generally was not translated into assessments of individual performance. Most girls considered that they were only doing as well as others in school, and only half of them expected to do well in their exams. Boys, on the other hand, had a much more positive image of themselves, no boy considering that he was doing worse than others and two-thirds of boys expecting to do well in their exams. The diffidence of the girls increased with age. Moreover, while 53 per cent of the younger girls placed great importance on doing well at school, only 24 per cent of the older girls did so – a result which may be construed as a decline in girls' aspirations.

Both boys and girls placed great importance on boys' school achievements, but although girls placed equal importance upon the achievements of girls, only just over half the boys shared this opinion. If this opinion is made manifest in mixed schools, it is little wonder that some girls prefer to be educated in a single-sex school.

Boys were thought to be more competitive than girls by both sexes. Although the majority of younger girls was also prepared to be competitive, this proportion dropped substantially with age.

Surveys

Earlier surveys had revealed two notable findings – that coeducational schools, while greatly improving the performance of boys, did little for the performance of girls,* and that such schools tended to polarize subject-interest so that pupils opted for those subjects at which each sex was traditionally considered 'better'.† We were concerned therefore to examine the effects of the school on pupils' estimates of the performance of their sex in general, as well as on their own subject preferences and performance.

In terms of the former, we were surprised to find that both boys and girls believed that most subjects were equally well done by both

* Dale, R. R. *Mixed or Single-Sex School?* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

† Department of Education and Science. *Curricular Differences for Boys and Girls. Education Survey 21.* London: HM Stationery Office, 1975.

sexes (see Figure 1). Only domestic science and woodwork were strongly sex-typed. It is particularly reassuring to note that most girls do not believe mathematics to be a boys' subject – in fact, 10 per cent of girls considered mathematics to be their best subject at school. A further point of interest is that the tendency to believe in equal performance is greater, in almost every case, in girls than in boys. The school had little bearing on these general estimates of performance.

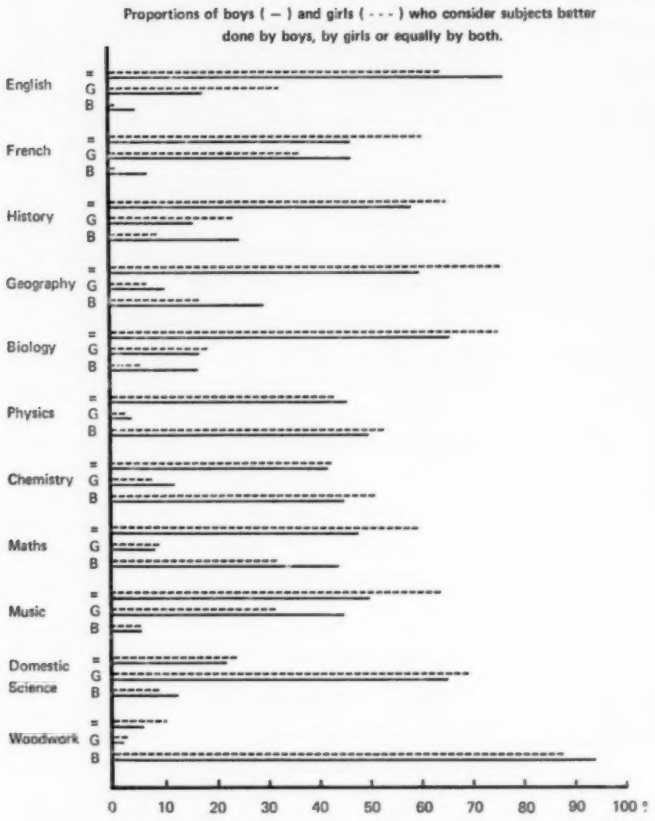

Figure 1

Worst and best

In terms of their own preferences and performances there was strong concordance between the two: pupils liked what they were good at and disliked what they did poorly. Mathematics was the most frequently reported 'worst' subject by girls in mixed schools, but not in girls' schools, where the 'worst' subject seemed to be foreign languages. This also proved to be the worst subject for many boys in mixed schools, while for those in boys' schools it was the natural sciences, and physics in particular.

Most frequently mentioned 'best' subjects were: English for girls, and history and geography for boys in mixed schools; history and geography for girls and chemistry (to a lesser extent physics) for boys in single-sex schools.

It may seem paradoxical that the natural sciences figured most frequently as both the best and worst subject for boys in boys' schools,

but this is likely to be a result of the emphases placed upon the subjects either by selective schools or by the boys themselves. Sciences being necessary for many professional careers, boys may be more keenly aware of both good and poor performance in these subjects.

Our evidence, however, does not bear out the common supposition that girls manifest an unqualified superiority in languages or that boys display a similar superiority in the physical sciences. Moreover, the dissimilarjty between the responses of boys and girls in mixed schools on the one hand, and the similarity between those of boys in mixed schools and of girls in girls' schools on the other, do raise questions about the social context of education for the two sexes. It certainly confirms the earlier evidence that coeducation exerts a differential effect upon boys and girls.

Sex-typing

The most disconcerting evidence of sex-typing was revealed in response to the question of which subjects ought to be studied by boys and girls (see Figures 2 and 3).

For boys, mathematics and technical subjects were most commonly considered important by girls and mathematics and languages by boys themselves. For girls, boys thought domestic science, and girls languages. It was evident from the reasons given that these choices were largely determined by the life-roles boys and girls saw each sex fulfilling – and in this respect the future looks far rosier for one sex than the other!

The greater proneness of boys to adopt sex-stereotypes was also evident in their attitudes to domestic chores – while the majority of girls wished to share most of these jobs, boys saw them as more clearly sex-typed. This was true too of attitudes to job-performance: girls considered that most jobs could be equally well done by men or

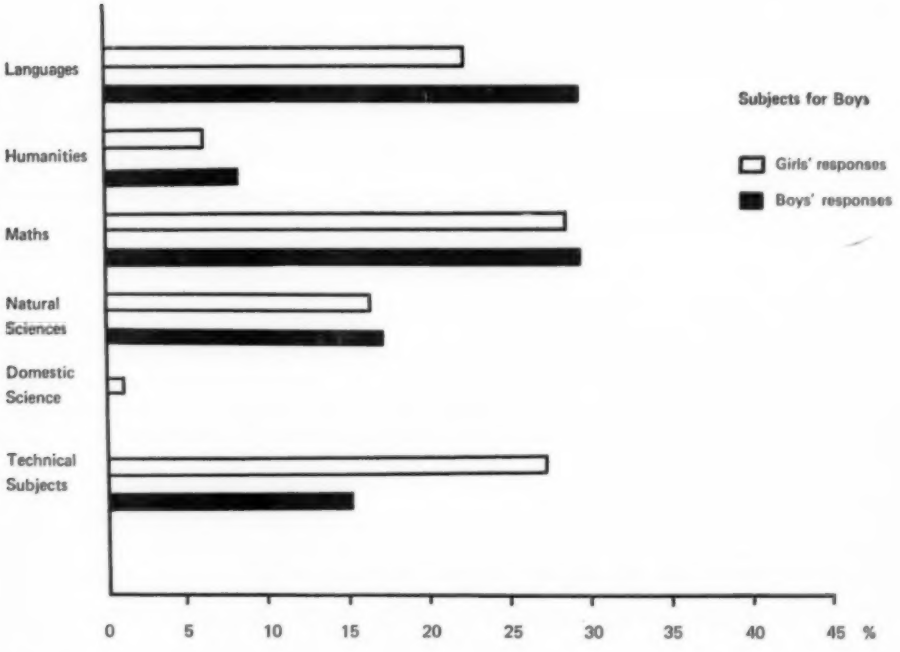

Figure 2

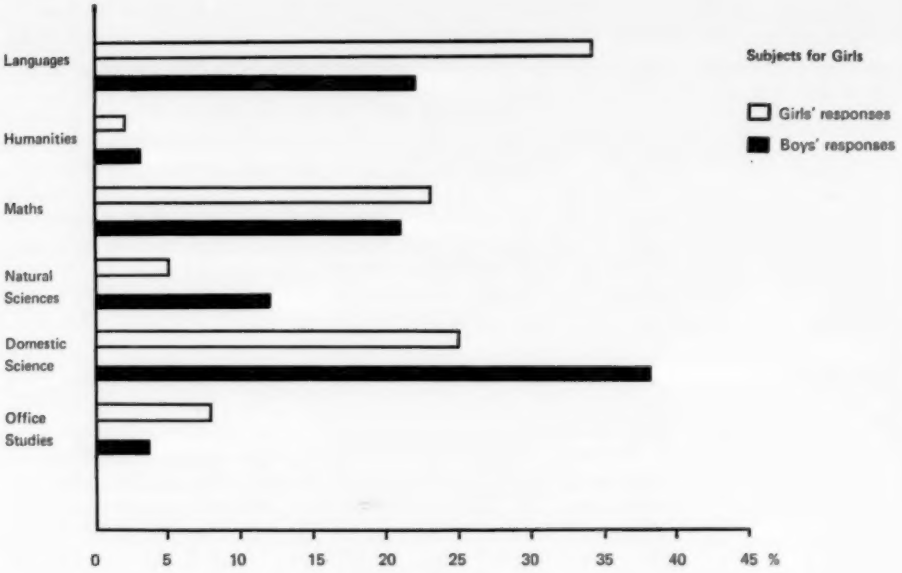

Figure 3

women, whereas boys considered that most jobs (except for nurse and librarian) were better done by men. These sex-stereotyped attitudes were more evident, irrespective of sex, in mixed than in single-sex schools. We are not sure, however, to what extent this is a result of the selectivity of the latter schools.

Diffidence

In conclusion, one might formulate the following hypothesis to account for the persistent underachievement of girls. While having a favourable estimation of the ability of their own sex, girls are diffident in assessing their own performance as individuals. This diffidence appears to characterize girls and women at all stages of life after childhood and to increase with age. Furthermore, the aspirations and attainments of girls are constrained by manifold factors, the most important of which in adolescence is likely to be the expectations of their male peers of their scholastic performance, their career performance, and their domestic roles – expectations which confront them more directly in mixed than in single-sex schools.

It appears that the educational process does little to ameliorate the situation for girls. In fact, with age, girls show an increasing tendency to accept the 'realities' of life – to compete less and to aspire less. Our findings need replication, but we feel that they have indicated that the subtle process of interaction between attitudes, abilities and expectations in different types of school merits closer investigation.

Trends 1979/4

Lessons from class-size research – an economist's perspective

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The debate about class size has some of the qualities of the debate about capital punishment. Commonsense conclusions – in the one case that hanging must be a deterrent, in the other that small classes must be educationally beneficial – seem to founder in a sea of conflicting statistics. Overall, the figures neither prove nor disprove conclusively that hanging is an incentive to murder, nor that in large classes pupils learn more. B. D. Cullen looks at the picture.

Of course, class size does not have the moral overtones of the question of capital punishment. Many people, perhaps, would be unable to accept the death penalty even if the statistics indicated strongly that it was indeed a deterrent. Class size, on the other hand, is for most people a technical rather than a moral issue, to be determined by evidence rather than by sentiment. Dr Clare Burstall summarized the evidence in an informative article in the most recent issue of this journal (*Trends* 3/79):

> 'In general, class size has appeared either to have no effect on achievement at all or, even less palatably, has appeared to be positively correlated with it – the larger the class, the higher the level of achievement.'*

Similar conclusions

Much the same conclusion has been reached by other reviewers of the research, including Pidgeon (1974),† Ryan and Greenfield (1975)‡ and Educational Research Services Inc. (1978).§ The research reports themselves are multitudinous, large numbers being of American origin. In this country they include incidental reference to the effects of class size in broad multi-aspect investigations of school and non-school influences on child development – for example, those carried out in association with the work of the Plowden Committee and those by the National Children's Bureau (in the National Child Development Study); and investigations into the teaching of particular subjects – for example by Morris (reading), Little (reading), Pidgeon (mathematics) and Burstall (French). However, the sources of material also include specific research into the relationship between class size

* Burstall, Clare. 'Time to mend the nets: a commentary on the outcomes of class size research' in *Trends in Education*, Autumn, 1979.

† Pidgeon, D. A. 'Class size as a factor of pupil performance: a policy analysis' in *New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks: General Analyses*. Paris: OECD, 1973.

‡ Ryan, D. W. and T. B. Greenfield. *Clarifying the Class Size Question*. Toronto: Ministry of Education, Ontario, 1975.

§ Powell, P. J. *Class Size: A Summary of Research*. Arlington, Virginia: Educational Research Services Inc., 1978.

and pupil performance, of which a notable example is that by Marklund,* carried out in Sweden.

Dr Burstall's own study of primary French led her to the following conclusion, not untypical of the results of other researchers:

> 'The findings of the primary stage of the evaluation offer no support to either view (i.e. that of some earlier researchers tending to favour larger classes, and that of teachers favouring smaller ones): no evidence was found to suggest that levels of achievement in French, whether rated by the Inspectors or measured by objective tests, varied as a function of class size. There was some evidence that pupils in smaller classes had better opportunities than those in larger classes to practise their oral French and that less-able pupils in smaller classes were more likely to play an active part in the French lesson, but these factors were not reflected in a higher level of achievement in French in the smaller classes.'†

The purpose of this article is to comment on two pieces of evidence discussed in Dr Burstall's article in *Trends* – the 'meta-analysis' of Glass and Smith,‡ that reaches conclusions different from other research reviews, and research into teacher attitudes – and then to set out a view on the general state of play from the perspective of an economist adviser, rather than that of the educational researcher.

Glass and Smith

The first point to make about the Glass and Smith research is that there are obvious extreme difficulties in integrating data from many studies carried out by different methods at different times under different conditions using different criteria. It would be unfair to judge meta-analysis according to standards that can only be achieved with cleaner and more coherent data. The appropriate comparison is with the impressionistic reviews of past research which the meta-analysis aims to supersede. Even a relatively crude quantitative approach may be an improvement and enable us to see the wood for the trees, when ordinary research reviews fail to do so. On these grounds, economists and others will welcome meta-analysis and will look forward to future developments in this approach.

This is not to say, however, that the results of the research reported in Dr Burstall's article can be accepted without reservation. In the first place, the necessarily indiscriminate way in which meta-analysis digests the fruits of various research projects may obscure real differences in the quality of research. This might actually justify heavier reliance on some of the results than on others. Take, for example, the very thorough study by Marklund,§ which is generally inconclusive about the effect of class size, but perhaps tends to show better results from larger classes; is this outweighed by equally impressive research with contradictory results, or merely by greater numbers of less well-substantiated projects?

* Marklund, Sixten. *Skolklassens Storlek och Struktur*. Studier rörande elevernas kunskaper, relation till klassens stovlek och homogenitet. Uppsala: Kungl. Skolöverstyretsen, 1962.

† Burstall, Clare. *French from Eight: A National Experiment*. Slough: NFER, 1968.

‡ Glass, G. V. and M. L. Smith. *Meta-Analysis of Research on the Relationship of Class Size and Achievement*. San Francisco, California: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1978.

§ *Op. cit.*

A second reservation concerns the way in which curves are fitted to the data in the meta-analysis. A quadratic model has been used which has the property that when class size increases past a certain point, pupil performance starts to improve again. The turning point for the entire data set is about thirty-three pupils per class; for the important category of 'well controlled studies only', the turning point is as low as twenty-eight. The implication of this model is that, if starting from a class size of twenty-eight, one might as well increase it as reduce it.

A final reservation is not about the methodology of the meta-analysis, but about the results. The shape of the curve relating pupil performance to class size is such that most of the gains accruing from reductions in class size occur below twenty pupils per class. Pupil performance between thirty and twenty pupils per class improves by only 5 per cent and between thirty and twenty-five pupils by only 3 per cent. Taking all this at face value, the question it prompts is: if we are trying to obtain a significant improvement in pupil performance, is a reduction in class size the most promising way of tackling the problem?

Teacher attitudes

An important suggestion in Dr Burstall's article is that teacher attitudes may be a crucial factor in explaining the relationship between class size and pupil performance – or rather, the lack of a clear-cut relationship. A teacher with an inflexible 'mass-orientated' approach, for example, might be unable to adapt his style to the circumstances of a smaller class, thereby wasting potential benefits to his pupils. Similarly, a teacher with a hostile attitude to large classes might have a negative effect on pupil achievement in such a class. Recent research quoted by Dr Burstall throws further light on the significance of teacher attitudes. According to this research, and perhaps not surprisingly, teachers believe that closer teacher-pupil relationships are achieved in small classes, and that this is beneficial to the pupils.

In support of this idea, Dr Burstall quotes the results of her own research that showed educational benefits to pupils in smaller schools. The link here is that pupils in smaller classes can be expected to receive benefits, in some measure, similar to those provided by small schools. Some of the factors thought to explain the superior achievement of children in small schools are irrelevant to the class size issue – for example, the fact that teachers in the small schools were older than in the larger schools; and that the head had more time for teaching. However, the small-school teachers were also less mobile throughout their careers, and more likely to live in the community served by the school. These circumstances are arguably conducive to closer teacher-pupil relationships, which, as we have already seen, teachers believe to be important educationally to their pupils.

Objective analysis

At the end of the day, of course, it is not simply a matter of what teachers *believe*, but rather of what can be established by objective analysis. The idea that teacher attitudes and teaching styles may be potent factors in the relationship between class size and pupil performance is helpful as a possible explanation of the great variability in the research results; it will be more helpful still if future research incorporating these 'teacher' factors produces less variable results.

I am very much in favour of further research. But this must be a long-term project, and the outcome for class sizes, teacher attitudes and teaching styles is quite unpredictable. In the interim, the message from an overview of the existing research seems to be that, whatever

other arguments there may be for reducing pupil/teacher ratios, no argument can safely be based on the existing empirical research on class sizes. Dr Burstall believes that there is little further to be gained from focusing on the mere numbers of pupils in a class; future research should try to take into account 'the quality of classroom life, the effectiveness or otherwise of particular styles of teaching, considered in context and evaluated in relation to the educational goals being sought. To do this we need to develop, above all, more sensitive and imaginative means of measuring a broad band of educational outcomes'.*

The idea of a multiplicity of educational outcomes is one that appeals to the economist. He will be familiar with the parallel concept in industrial applications – the multiple attributes of an industrial product. That is to say, the effectiveness of an industrial process will be judged not solely in terms of the scale of output from a given quantity of resources, but in terms also of the various aspects of quality (these include aesthetic appeal, finish, user convenience and durability), the cost of maintaining or servicing the product, delivery dates and so on. Interestingly enough, in the industrial case these various attributes do not necessarily conflict with one another – large-scale, low-cost output is often found hand-in-hand with superior quality and design, as, for example, the purchasers of Volkswagen cars or Japanese electronic equipment will testify. Perhaps the same will be found to apply in education, if only the means of measuring a broad band of educational outcomes can be devised.

More important, perhaps, is that the economist is concerned not only with the various attributes of the product, but also with the variety of resources used in making it – labour of various types, materials, equipment, buildings and so on – and in their efficient combination. He is used to thinking in terms of the 'production function' – that is, the most efficient combination of these inputs for the production of each level of output. He will not expect to gain much useful knowledge by observing the effect of varying one input – for example, one type of labour – in isolation. If the quantity of other inputs were not held constant in such a study, he would not know whether to attribute higher output to the labour, or to uncontrolled variations in other inputs. And if the quantity of other inputs *were* held constant, he would still not know whether any increase in output resulting from an increase in labour could have been achieved at lower cost by increasing the other inputs instead of labour.

Future research

The same analysis is relevant to education. Future research might show that more teachers and therefore smaller classes produced better educational outcomes, but if the research were concentrated on the teacher input, or on teacher-related inputs alone, we would be unable to say whether equivalent educational outcomes could have been obtained at lower cost by increasing expenditure on, say, school buildings or on books and equipment rather than on teachers; or whether, for a given cost, but with less expenditure on teachers and more on school building, books and so on, better educational outcomes could have been achieved. Such considerations have prompted work on the educational production function both in the United States and in this country. Some of the research has produced useful results: but some has been more or less negated by data problems of the type that have also caused great difficulties in the estimation of industrial

* Burstall, Clare. 'Time to mend the nets: a commentary on the outcomes of class size and research' *Op. cit.*

production functions. Whatever the difficulties involved in relating a wide range of educational inputs to outputs, however, the prize for success will be a much more balanced appreciation of the education process than can be achieved by studying the contribution of one input – ie that of the teacher – in isolation. Rutter's work, reported in *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children** is an encouragement towards more broadly based research.

This article therefore concludes with a plea for renewed consideration to be given to the production functional approach to education. The proper husbandry of national resources would require some rationale for balancing resources against one another in the education sector (as in other sectors) even in times of affluence. When the economy is in difficulties, and public expenditure is subject to severe constraints, the penalty of a failure to use resources efficiently could well be the sacrifice of the nation's educational goals.

* Rutter, Michael, Barbara Maughan, Peter Mortimore and Janet Ouston with Alan Smith. *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their Effects on Children*. London: Open Books, 1979.

Trends 1979/4

A college/university merger

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In 1977 Loughborough College of Education merged with Loughborough University. This article looks at some of the consequences of that merger.

Just two years ago Loughborough saw the first merger to take place in this country between a university and a college of education. This 'amalgamation', to use the official term, was the product of some five years of detailed preparation and close collaboration between the two institutions. In so far as careful forethought could smooth over the process of change, this was achieved with a remarkable degree of success; yet, perhaps inevitably, some stresses and strains have emerged, and some contrasting attitudes and behaviour patterns have come to light. This seems a suitable moment to consider developments over the past two years and to attempt some prognosis for the future.*

Leading reputation

Loughborough University of Technology, to give it its full title, developed from the former College of Advanced Technology and achieved university status in the mid-1960s.† By the time of the

* Only one other account of a college/university merger (at Exeter) seems to have been published: Shaw, K.E. 'Management and the environment in a college merger' in the *British Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1978. For short articles on other cases see The Times Higher Education Supplement on Coventry College/Warwick University 28 March 1975 and on Keswick Hall College/University of East Anglia 20 October 1978.

† For historical background see: Cantor, L. M. and G. Matthews. *Loughborough, From College to University: A History of Higher Education at Loughborough, 1909–1966*. Loughborough: Loughborough University of Technology, 1977, and Burgess, Tyrrell and John Pratt. *Policy and Practice: The Colleges of Advanced Technology*. London: Allen Lane, 1970.

negotiations leading up to amalgamation, it had undoubtedly achieved a leading reputation nationally for teaching and research in the fields of engineering and applied technology. In recent years, the most rapid growth has been in the area of the social sciences, thus giving the University as a whole a more balanced or rounded perspective. The adjacent College of Education had an outstanding national, and even international, reputation in physical education and was also well known for its work in creative design.

It would be futile to pretend that before amalgamation there was complete unanimity about the desirability or otherwise of the proposed link either within the University or within the College, let alone between the two. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that a majority of staff within each institution welcomed the move. After all, what was the alternative? At a time when most colleges of education were facing either severe reductions in their quotas of education students, or actual closure, and in view of all the problems that would be involved in developing degree courses in quite new directions, there were naturally considerable doubts as to whether the College could ever become a viable independent entity. Its merger with Leicester Polytechnic was at one time being canvassed, but was probably never really a practical possibility: quite apart from being some fifteen miles away, Leicester Polytechnic was already engaged in the problems of merging with another college of education at Scraptoft. To put the argument at its lowest common denominator, Loughborough College of Education represented a very large and expensive investment in real estate – to say nothing of manpower – on a site fortuitously adjacent to the University campus. Yet, one hopes, most staff were at least influenced by other considerations: on educational grounds it could be strongly argued that both sides of the binary line stood to gain from the change.

Organizational changes

As a result of amalgamation, some of the College departments have come to the end of their existence as academic departments – for example, religious education and music – and others such as social science or education have merged into existing University departments. Yet others have become autonomous University departments, headed, or to be headed, by newly appointed professors – as with English, history and geography – while the future of at least one, animal and plant ecology, appears to be still undecided. Since amalgamation the work of some University departments has been scarcely affected, and the work of others perhaps not at all; for yet others there have been either minor or major changes in the size of department, members of staff and nature of courses. I doubt whether civil engineering, for example, has experienced much upheaval whereas mathematics and social sciences acquired two or three new staff each and a number of new teaching commitments. My own department – education – was probably affected more than any other: in addition to our number of academic staff mushrooming from seven to twenty-two and a second professor arriving, the total number of students grew from around 100 to some 450; we found ourselves split between four buildings on two sites. Life could never be quite the same again.

Overall, the University seemed to stand to gain by the addition of such areas of work as English, geography and history to what some people still saw as a rather uneven institution. There were naturally greater misgivings, in some quarters, about the acquisitions of subject areas that could only be seen as 'new' in university terms, such as physical education and creative design.

It could also be argued that the University stood to gain by the

acquisition of colleagues with strong interests and highly developed skills in the teaching of students, including greater use of a variety of teaching methods and audio-visual aids of all kinds. This is not, of course, to imply that all University staff are incompetent teachers, since very many are demonstrably quite the opposite, but the fact remains that whereas the great majority, if not all, of the College staff had made a substantial study of education and received formal training in teaching methodology, only a small minority of the University staff had ever done so.

Academic life

For the College departments the gains were presumably to be measured not merely in numbers of jobs and security of employment, but also in terms of the benefits derived from being brought into the University's approach to academic life. Teaching and administrative responsibilities, while still important, were not seen as the be-all and end-all. Of prime importance here, of course, is involvement in research.

To say that the College had no tradition of involvement in research would be an exaggeration, but I think it would be fair to say that the majority of the College staff preferred to concentrate on their teaching function, and did not seek to orientate themselves towards research. Certain individual members of staff in a number of departments – perhaps most notably in the geography and history departments – did persist with active research programmes, and they obviously deserve considerable credit for doing so. To what extent attitudes have changed since amalgamation is difficult to say. Those members of the College staff previously actively engaged in research must surely have felt a new sense of impetus and encouragement, and it is clear that others with, in many cases, little such experience, have now found themselves with reduced teaching loads and have felt able to make a start in the same direction. Yet other staff, perhaps not surprisingly, may feel it is rather unfair that they should be expected to reorientate themselves in this way.

Training and research

In the former University there was no serious debate as to the importance of doing research: no one seems to have seriously doubted that to do *some* research of *some* kind at *some* level was a prerequisite for all staff. How else could we justify our teaching timetables of perhaps ten hours per week and long periods, especially over the summer, with no teaching commitments at all? In the context of new colleagues who assert that their prime interest lies in teaching, what perhaps needs greater emphasis is the way in which this is crucially affected by one's research activity. Like most members of the former University, I imagine, I have to do some teaching in areas in which I have done research and some in areas in which I have not. And it is abundantly clear to me that the latter bears no comparison with the former. In an area in which one has done original research, one's teaching not only has far greater authority, it also has a quite different orientation, in that it can deal at first hand with the practical problems of detailed investigation in that particular field.

New name

Perhaps, too, we need another name for this area of activity: 'research' sounds rather clever and esoteric. Much academic writing begins with quite short, factual articles which are often no more than the restatement of an area of study but which some journal is glad to have, and which will be of assistance to some students somewhere. It also needs to be said that the University may have to modify its ideas of what

constitutes 'research' – all too often it tends to be measured by the number of papers published.

Some of the ex-College staff are actively engaged in a variety of work in and with local schools: this may take the form of developing new teaching materials, working alongside teachers in team-teaching situations, assisting in the formation or development of local teacher groups in specialist subject areas, helping the schools' psychological service with problems relating to disturbed or backward children, or bringing groups of children into the University to test new audio-visual aids, quite apart from routine visits to schools to supervise students on teaching practice. None of this may come within the umbrella of what is normally termed research, but surely it is all educationally desirable, and is to be encouraged rather than the reverse? The fact that it may or may not lead to the publication of *x* papers in academic journals scarcely seems the main point, although in some instances, of course, such articles may well become possible as a spin-off from the exercise in question, and would serve to publicize it more widely.

Temporary problems

A number of problems have caused difficulties over the last twelve months, but I think it is now accepted that these will sort themselves out in due course. Three in particular need mention. The first relates to those ex-College staff, perhaps ten in all or some 10 per cent of the total, who now find themselves on fixed-term appointments and who therefore face the prospect of possibly becoming redundant within the next two or three years. They naturally feel disturbed about the turn of events and the uncertainty hanging over their futures; so would we all in their position. Whether they are eventually offered permanent appointments must presumably depend primarily on the growth of student numbers and consequent justification via staff/student ratios.

The second is the salary anomaly: since the College staff were on higher (post-Houghton) salary scales than equivalent University colleagues (whose Houghton equivalent was stopped by Government pay policy), we found ourselves working alongside staff doing similar work, yet earning higher salaries. All the staff I know quietly accepted this peculiar local position without rancour, while urging the case for an equitable national settlement. This specific anomaly has, however, now been eradicated.

The third major short-term problem relates to the teaching buildings in the former College, some of which were frankly in a poor condition by University standards, and on which the University is now having to expend considerable sums of money for maintenance and modernization. Such thoughts are, of course, little more than a reflection of the fact that universities have become accustomed to much more generous levels of provision than colleges.

Continuing changes

Patterns of teaching have changed and are continuing to do so: the old three-year Education Certificate and four-year BEd have died. In their place have emerged, phoenix-like, new single honours and combined honours degree courses in a wide variety of subjects, plus the new 'two plus two' route to teacher training, which now operates alongside the thriving PGCE and other routes. In many departments, new options or subsidiary courses are now being made available to far more students, all of which would seem to be educationally desirable. Ex-College colleagues have taken their place on the University's Boards of Studies and other committees, and the two-way

interaction that has been taking place must surely be beneficial to both sides.

Over the enlarged University as a whole, however, much has not changed. A proposal to drop the words 'of Technology' from the University's title aroused little enthusiasm on either side. Staff from either College or former University still tend to spend most of their time in the same buildings, mix with the same people and eat in the same places. Ex-College staff still take their collective coffee break in their senior common room and ex-University staff still tend to have snack lunches in the same two bars as before. Staff of the former University complain that their usage of sports facilities has been restricted; ex-College staff find it a long walk to the administration buildings or to the main library (it will be twice as far when the new library building is opened at the far end of the campus) and express dismay at the rigidity with which the University's system for booking teaching rooms operates.

Relative stability

It seems likely that the next few years on the enlarged campus may see a period of relative stability after the upheaval of the past two. Once work on the two current building sites (new library and new residences) has been finished, the campus will, apparently, be regarded as complete. The enlarged University will then stay at a constant size until the late 1980s when, we are told, we shall have to brace ourselves for a potential fall in student numbers. We must hope that by that time the distinction between 'ex-College' and 'ex-University' will be a matter of past history. A colleague from Warwick, which has also now merged with a college, recently told me that they were 'taking a twenty-five year view of the whole thing'. Perhaps, on balance, we at Loughborough need to do the same.

Trends 1979/4

The school and the community

Michael Hacker
Superintending Architect, Architects & Building Branch, Department of Education and Science

Many local authorities have introduced community schools into their areas. Michael Hacker looks at some of the building implications of this trend.

In a school in Derbyshire a retired miner sips a cup of coffee, reading his paper while he waits to collect his grandson and take him home. Earlier in the day a group of mothers met in the same space to discuss common problems with a teacher. In the evening the doors will open for a variety of clubs and activities.

In an educational and community centre in Manchester a father is browsing in the library while his son swims after school in the leisure centre, his wife joins an adult education class and his daughter gyrates at the disco in the youth club. Earlier in the day his elderly father might have played a game of cards after enjoying a reasonably priced lunch, while his wife's hair was being attended to by a student on a hairdressing course.

The concept of the community school is not a new one. The *Stoa* and the *Agora* of classical antiquity served education and trade: the philosoper and the sophist as well as the merchant and his client. More recently in this country the design of buildings specifically to meet both educational and community needs was pioneered by Henry Morris and the Cambridgeshire Village Colleges in the thirties. Social, educational and economic change have increasingly focused attention on the opportunities and benefits of joint planning and utilization of educational and community provision.

Shared use

At a time when there is a growing demand for facilities for recreation, leisure and continuing education, there is considerable scope for extending shared use. At a time when schools are seeking to widen the opportunities offered to pupils, it seems odd that many public buildings (libraries, sports centres, youth clubs, for example) are not used to capacity during the school day.

It is now widely recognized that both school and community can share at least some of their buildings and resources to their mutual benefit. The economic arguments alone are compelling, but there are also potential educational and social advantages to be gained. Certainly educational and leisure opportunities for the whole community can be greatly expanded, but – and this is perhaps the most important benefit of all in the long run – adults are brought into closer contact with schools, and some of the problems associated with the separation of school pupils from adult society can be overcome.

Section 7 of the 1944 Education Act concludes with the words '. . . and it shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, to contribute toward the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community . . .'. The idea of making better use of resources to widen educational and social opportunity was given official encouragement by both the Department of Education and Science and the then Ministry of Housing and Local Government in two joint circulars issued in 1964 and 1970. A joint letter to local education authorities and area health authorities from the DES and the Department of Health and Social Security (January 1978) sought to encourage and widen the concept of joint use beyond leisure and recreation to include the various facilities and services provided for the under-fives. This was followed by several other official publications on the subjects.

This country is not the only one to be interested in the idea. There have been a number of recent developments in Europe, North America and Australia. Only last year the OECD Programme on Educational Building published the first two volumes of a series of case studies under the general title of *Building for School and Community*.

The motivating forces that have initiated and sustained the development of joint school and community projects have been as diverse as the resulting solutions; they range from the most idealistic to the most 'hard-nosed' or pragmatic. Some supporters of school/community projects have seen them as embodying a new kind of social presence, extending the role of the school into the community and that of the community into the school. Others have been content to see them as a means of increasing social and educational opportunities at a given economic cost, or simply the means of reducing the cost of maintaining a given range of opportunities.

Benefits

To attempt a detailed and balanced assessment of the full range of social and economic benefits accruing from recent projects is a daunting and perhaps premature task. However, there seems to be general agreement that both schools and the general community have gained much:

pupils have had access to a range, variety and (in many cases) quality of educational opportunity and facility that would not be available to them in a separate school;

the community has been provided with facilities that it would not have been feasible, or so economic, to provide separately;

by joint investment both school and community have obtained more intensive utilization, and therefore better value for money;

broad social benefit has been obtained through closer contact between groups and individuals, leading to closer coordination of services, and cross fertilization of ideas;

through common siting the users have benefited from greater convenience and reduced journey times.

Generalized public use

Many of the first generation of community school projects were orientated towards specific, well-organized groups of activities – particularly indoor sport and adult education – using the premises outside school hours. There is now a tendency to widen the range of activities and potential users in favour of more generalized public use during the school day as well as outside it. A relatively small injection of funds – for perhaps a coffee bar and some additional teaching and storage space – can open the door for a wide range of activities that otherwise could not have been accommodated.

To assess what scope any particular situation offers for widening opportunity and responding to specific local need, it is necessary, in the initial and feasibility stages of a project, to cast the net wide. As well as assessing need, such a wide-ranging initial study may well reveal existing buildings and resources that could be incorporated in coordinated proposals and reduce the need for new buildings.

It is important to appreciate what benefits are expected, and the degree of integration necessary to achieve them. There are instances in which, in spite of an apparent overlap of common needs, sharing or dual use is inappropriate. Many organizations require a degree of autonomy in order to function effectively. Schools must be guaranteed access to a certain minimum range of teaching facilities to meet the statutory obligations laid down in the Education Acts. Teachers and pupils require a considerable degree of privacy and autonomy.

Apart from the greater diversity of accommodation and the better opportunity it provides, perhaps the most significant development to emerge in recent projects concerns their siting. No longer is the school conceived as an isolated institution; instead it is seen as an integral part of the urban structure it serves.

Problems

Sharing is not always easy. In the joint use of buildings and other resources there are human, logistic, managerial, maintenance, financial and legal problems to be met and overcome. Although the concept of joint school and community planning is widely accepted, the realization of joint school and community schemes has been less widespread than might have been anticipated. This may in part derive from attitudes held within the educational establishment, as well as by the

public at large, and attitudes necessarily take time to modify. It may also, however, be the product of more tangible obstacles:

integrated schemes require a coordinated flow of capital funds from a number of different sources. Joint projects are clearly vulnerable to financial pressures, and at times of severe financial restraint, even with the best will on all sides, the smooth progress of such projects cannot be guaranteed;

the sites reserved for schools are still customarily on the outskirts of urban or suburban developments – away from the social and commercial focus of the community. Such sites are not attractive to other social services. A more central site may be more expensive, but the extra expenditure may be justifiable if it permits integration with other facilities that would otherwise be provided on separate sites;

to keep facilities open for up to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, and throughout the year, imposes considerable strain on those responsible for their management, cleaning and maintenance. More intensive utilization will involve a greater degree of wear and tear and corresponding increases in maintenance and running costs. Successful joint provision schemes require sensitive arrangements for management that will allow for flexibility of mind and good will to overcome traditional demarcation lines and permit facilities – which in the past have been regarded as the preserve of particular sections of the community – to be opened to the community at large.

There can be no general solutions to these problems. Solutions are dependent as much on local circumstances as on the nature of the provision itself. All those concerned with the provision and future operation of the proposed facilities should be consulted at an early stage.

Immediate future

Many of the more ambitious dual-use schemes now in use were conceived against a background of population growth and buoyant education building programmes. By contrast, the prospects for the immediate and foreseeable future are for a decline in the school population in some areas and a consequent reduction in expenditure on school buildings. Nationally, the primary school population has been falling for some time, the secondary population reached a peak in 1970 and is now expected to fall. In some areas, vacant or underused school accommodation may present opportunities for dual or shared use. In some of our older towns and in the inner-city areas there is the immediate prospect of adapting existing facilities to improve the educational, social and recreational opportunities offered to the community.

On the other hand, there will, of course, be areas where, because of the movement of population into new housing, the school population will increase. Such increases, however, may be short-lived and may be followed by a period of stability or decline.

These factors emphasize the need for:

maximum economy in the use of resources available for capital and recurrent expenditure;

flexibility in the design of facilities for educational and other purposes so that, as new facilities are added or requirements change, the building may be adapted for different purposes;

flexibility in strategic planning, so that resources can be taken up as and when they become available, or alternative options adopted, should circumstances change.

Changes

Experience in providing new facilities – whether in growth areas or in existing communities – suggests that it is essential to make facilities capable of accepting changes in the pattern of use. Some of these changes may be foreseen and can be planned for: others, although in one way or another they are bound to occur during the life span of the buildings, cannot.

Needs may change because of the changing composition of the population itself. A typical pattern in a new housing area is that initially the population is heavily weighted towards the younger age groups. This puts pressure on education, health and the social services for parents and children. As the population stabilizes, its age profile shifts towards the older age groups. The pressure on educational provision reduces in the compulsory sector, but there may be increased demand for adult education and social services for the elderly. Public investment in both new and existing communities must allow for these developments. It must provide accommodation which is responsive to change, and capable of a wide range of modification to meet future needs, while at the same time meeting and not compromising the known and immediate needs of today.

Recent projects

Against this background, over the past few years, the Development Group at the DES has been associated with the planning, design and implementation of a number of projects in which one of the main aims was to strengthen links between school and community.

Nursery and infant schools

Ilkeston Chaucer Nursery and Infant School, Ilkeston, Derbyshire
The site of this school forms part of a small public park near the centre of the town. The site has contributed to the extension of the opportunities in the park and is next door to the junior school site. A relatively modest contribution of funds from the Erewash district council allowed the creation of a family centre for mothers and young children. Although the major part of the school and nursery accommodation is not suitable for adult use, it has been possible to link the family centre to the staff social area, the hall and dining areas, and to make these sections of the building available for community use.

Four nursery conversion projects in Nottinghamshire
Many LEAs are faced with the prospect of falling numbers in primary schools, and consequently with surplus space. At the same time there is increasing recognition of the need to provide places for pre-school children. There are many educational and social advantages in linking such provision to infant schools. These four small projects explored the possibilities of adapting surplus school space for nursery use. Each included some adult social provision to encourage mothers to become involved with the work of the school and improvements to the school site to provide for outdoor play. As well as meeting the educational needs of young children in term time, all of these projects provide a range of accommodation that could easily be used for holiday play schemes and other voluntary activities for young children.

Junior and middle schools

Guillemont Junior School, Hampshire
In a new housing district the local primary school is very often the only facility available for local community activities. In this project

no additional funds were available for community provision. However, the whole of the central area of the school was designed with community use in mind. In addition to using the physical education space, the community will be able to use the drama/music room and the craft nucleus. These are located around the central resources and dining area and are next to an adult staff social area. As the Centre contains a small cookery bay, light refreshment can be provided. A lavatory suitable for use by the physically handicapped has been provided. The school has been designed to allow for its future extension and adaptation as a middle school.

Secondary schools

Maiden Erlegh Secondary School, Reading, Berkshire
Although only limited funds were available for additional facilities, careful design has enlarged the potential for joint use. The site adjoins a little local shopping centre and a small local lending library has been incorporated into the main building. The drama, music and dining rooms, youth wing and social areas have been designed to form an integrated group of facilities for extensive use, not only by young people but by the community as a whole.

The Abraham Moss Centre, Manchester
This provides, in one interlinked group of buildings, accommodation to meet the needs of an eight-form entry comprehensive school, a college of further education, a district library, a district recreation centre, a club for the elderly and handicapped, a youth centre, a small hostel, and three shop units.

The site provides a much needed public open space. The footpaths that traverse the site between and through the buildings are part of the pedestrian communication network of the neighbourhood, and the playing fields contribute to the total stock of parks and sports facilities in the city.

Sedgefield School, County Durham
This addition to an existing comprehensive school is designed to provide a secure identifiable working base for the first-year pupils. It also provides specialist accommodation for music for the whole school. No additional community facilities were available, but the music accommodation has been designed around a small social area with a coffee bar and can be used by the community independently of the rest of the accommodation. Again it has been possible to make provision for the use of the building by the physically handicapped. The new building has been designed as an independent single-storey building and the possibility of its future use for a wide variety of educational and social needs has been considered in the design.

Crewe Central Area Development, Crewe, Cheshire
This current project applies the same principles considered for the Clayton Green district centre in the context of a nineteenth-century industrial town. The project involves the reorganization of a secondary modern school to form a new comprehensive school, and the improvement of its accommodation to provide appropriate facilities. An existing thirties building has been remodelled to form a lower school and a base for a wide range of local community activities, including provision for mothers and toddlers, junior youth and the elderly. The school's inadequate hutted accommodation is to be progressively replaced by three separate new buildings. Each of these buildings will incorporate facilities for both school and community, including

provision for adult education, music, drama and sport. Associated with the building proposals, derelict railway land in the town is to be reclaimed to form playing fields for both the school and the community. The strategy adopted will enable the school and community facilities in the town to be improved progressively, as and when the funds and sites become available, and to allow these developments to be closely related to other parallel developments in housing improvement and commercial provision in the town centre.

Interrelationship

This article is concerned with the built provision, but one must not underestimate the importance of the close interrelationship between educational, administrative and architectural decisions in the planning of joint provision. The architect can demonstrate how facilities can be planned so as to provide the maximum opportunity and to make the best use of available resources. He has to look to his administrative colleagues to find ways of successfully bringing together the necessary financial and managerial contributions from the various parties involved so that, along with the architect's skills, full advantage is gained from the opportunities offered.

What the wide-ranging and varied projects described in this article have in common is a desire to broaden opportunities for all members of the community: whether they be school pupils, parents, mothers with young children, other adults, teenagers, the elderly, or the handicapped. In the current climate of economic stringency and reduced population growth, attention will increasingly focus on the need to make the best possible use of our existing buildings and of the limited resources available for new buildings to obtain maximum educational and social benefit for both school and community.*

* A current list of publications, including those describing the projects mentioned in this article, is available from the Architects and Building Branch, Deparment of Education and Science, Elizabeth House, York Road, London SE1 7PH.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The Work of the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat

In August 1980, the Government of Sri Lanka will host the Eighth Commonwealth Education Conference for ministers of education and senior officials from forty-two countries. This will maintain a sequence of meetings that goes back to the first conference held at Oxford in 1959. At these meetings policy makers and decision takers at the highest level have the chance to discuss education policy, review cooperative activities and recommend areas for action to the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The guidelines established by the ministerial conferences determine the work programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat based at Marlborough House in London. By means of conferences, seminars, workshops and training courses funded by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, allied to a publishing programme and clearing house activities, the Division seeks to respond to the needs of member states, particularly in the field of training, and to facilitate the major quantitative and qualitative changes in education sought by so many of the Commonwealth's developing countries. In the majority of instances this response takes place in a regional setting, for it is at this level that national education systems can most readily gain from a sharing of experience and a pooling of ideas.

Various activities

In 1979, training the trainer activities have been undertaken in nearly all of the regions of the Commonwealth. In Swaziland, African countries met to discuss ways and means of effecting in-service teacher education, of expanding school systems requiring new curricula, and of creating new forms of education to take place outside the traditional school. At the end of 1979, in Bangladesh, the problems of implementing and maintaining universal primary education were discussed, taking note of a pan-Commonwealth survey on the subject. In March, science educators from the Commonwealth Pacific met in Papua New Guinea to develop, in a very practical way, local, low-cost science equipment, something that their colleagues in Africa and the Caribbean had undertaken earlier at regional workshops.

An area of challenge recognized by successive conferences is educational administration. Traditionally, throughout the Commonwealth, the role of the administrator has been one of maintenance and inspection; it has not been viewed as a post with the potential to facilitate change and innovation. A major handicap in this field is the lack of training provision. This is a handicap that the Secretariat has attempted to highlight by organizing a series of regional training courses, the last of which was held in 1979 in Barbados for middle-level administrators in the Caribbean region. Principals, advisers and education officers were given the chance to place their work in theoretical, national and regional contexts and to plan in-service activity for their national systems.

Another sphere of emphasis is technical education. The Secretariat has sought to highlight the significance of this issue through a series of regional seminars and is currently preparing a workshop for technical education trainers in Africa in 1980. Within that continent the Secretariat has helped to set up the Commonwealth Association of Polytechnics in Africa, whose aims include the exchange of information and students, the improvement of teaching, and closer liaison with governments and industry.

Many developing countries are seeking alternative or supplementary learning strategies, notably for those sectors of the population who have not benefited or are not likely to benefit from formal schooling. This concern found Commonwealth expression at a conference on non-formal education organized by the Education Division in New Delhi at the beginning of 1979. The conference examined the needs of the least privileged members of society, including school dropouts, adult illiterates and women. The report of this conference was published in October.

All the issues so far mentioned require learning materials in some shape or form. The Commonwealth book development programme is an integral part of the Education Division's work. It assists book production in member states especially through seminars, training courses and the exchange of informa-

tion, conscious of the need to match production techniques with the educational and economic circumstances of the countries in question.

These are but a few of the questions discussed by ministers of education at their last meeting in Ghana in 1977; other matters included the improvement of university teaching, the role of media in education and curriculum development.

Awareness

One of the side effects of the regional activities is a heightened awareness on the part of the participants of the work of the Commonwealth association. Even so, Commonwealth heads of government, as well as ministers of education, have emphasized the need for a programme which increases in a more formal way a knowledge and understanding of the Commonwealth. To this end, workshops are being held to examine how social studies educators can develop teaching about the Commonwealth. The next workshop will be held for the Caribbean region in 1980.

Allied to the training activities is a publishing programme which includes the reports of workshops and seminars, directories, handbooks and other specially commissioned studies. Over the past few months, studies have appeared on paper production, research strengths in Commonwealth Universities, Commonwealth topics in examinations and low-cost science equipment. A handbook for assistant librarians and directories of correspondence institutions and educational administration courses are in the pipeline.

So many issues

When the ministers of education gather in Sri Lanka it is improbable that any of the issues briefly outlined above will have lost their significance or the urgency with which they need to be tackled. Indeed, the problem facing the Secretariat, as with all international bodies, is that other equally deserving issues keep coming to the fore, for example education for women, the needs of the handicapped and the special problems of the smallest of the developing nations.

So, in Sri Lanka priorities will come under scrutiny once again. The programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat must mirror the priorities perceived for the 1980s and implement training activities to promote and assist the development of appropriate educational strategies in the nations of the Commonwealth.

S. E. Packer
Education Division
Commonwealth Secretariat

Thirty-Seventh International Conference on Education – Geneva, July 1979

One invariably embarks on something new with a sense of anticipation and enthusiasm coloured by a tinge of foreboding.

The official opening of the Conference in the vast, sophisticated surroundings of the International Conference Centre was impressive to say the least – 430 delegates from 125 countries, including China, and also seventy observers from various international organizations, including the PLO, made up the colourful ingredients of this kaleidoscopic gathering. One could not help but wonder whether a recognizable pattern could possibly emerge at the end.

However, when the delegates broke up into their two respective Commission groups, at least the problem of control and direction appeared to be halved – still a formidable task, but now possible.

Commission Two

The President of Commission Two was Dr Agblemagnon, the Togo Ambassador, a francophone well experienced in the international scene. He proved an extremely capable chairman. The topics to be discussed covered national policies on the right to education, improvement of educational management, resource mobilization and utilization and the role and training of educational administrators.

It would be impossible, and indeed unnecessary, to attempt to summarize the numerous and varying contributions made, but certain patterns emerged.

First, it became clear, after the individual education systems in over 100 countries had been outlined, that a belief in the right to education was universal. The only difference lay in the extent to which each country – mainly because of economies – had been able to implement that right.

Second, there was very considerable support for the concept of decentralized administration, though some Eastern European

countries felt that a mixture of both centralization and decentralization was better.

Decentralization, while accepted as a term, did however differ from country to country in its interpretation. Some saw it as meaning decentralization to provincial, regional or district authorities, others felt that even further decentralization was required, and indeed expressed the view that if the word were to be significant, it meant decentralization to the school unit. Whichever degree of decentralization was proposed, there was a surprising degree of unanimity from both the developed and developing countries that the school should reflect the needs of the community it set out to serve. Indeed, it was felt that curriculum design should reflect not only the social, cultural, linguistic and spiritual complexion of the community, but that it should also be geared specifically to the economic requirements of a particular area. Countries as diverse as Sweden and the People's Republic of Benin expressed this view. Did this mean that Benin in its educational infancy had found the truth that Sweden had only just discovered in its maturity, or that the starting points had been the same and that the wheel had now turned full circle in Sweden's case?

Community involvement

Another view that received positive and clear majority support was the concept of community involvement in the school at both the managerial and participatory levels. Less vocal support accompanied the Communist view (though both Sweden and Denmark were in agreement with it) that school management was really a matter for the pupils, and no clear indication was given of the age at which a child's managerial capacity could be said to be developed. The community school approach at the participatory level was strongly supported – by some countries for purely social and educational reasons, by others also as a means of mobilizing additional human and financial resources for the school. China indicated that a significant element in its schools' incomes came from school farms, school factories and school orchards. These were seen as financially attractive and invaluable as work experience.

The benefits of recruiting voluntary support in the non-professional areas of education were discussed. It was pointed out that there was a vast reservoir of expertise being left untapped and unrecognized by the schools, though problems of union acceptance of such a development could not be ignored.

Administration

Educational management was a further area that produced considerable discussion and agreement, and this was closely linked with the role of educational administrators and their training.

The general view that educational administrators should all be qualified and experienced teachers was not challenged, and indeed it was felt that there should be an element of educational management and administration in every teacher training course, irrespective of whether the person intended to pursue a career in educational administration.

Institutions specializing in educational administration are thin on the ground, and it was agreed that there should be development in this area. Shortages of resources, as could be expected, were given as the main reasons for lack of progress. Various examples were cited, and it became obvious that whatever the degree of self help generated, it did not meet the needs.

The Nepalese Ambassador felt that unless the lack of resources in the Third World was internationally recognized and acted upon, there appeared to be little point in attending international conferences and little point in discussing management and educational administration. His impassioned contribution was warmly applauded. However, when the applause died away and reason gradually replaced understandable emotion, one was forced into a personal assessment of the value of the Conference.

Information and understanding

I came to the conclusion that international agreement was not as common as international disagreement. But here was an international forum stating unanimously that every person has the right to education, to involvement in education and to provision for the fostering of spiritual and moral values. The Conference was important because it upheld these principles. The exchange of information was valuable, and understanding the problems of others was mutually beneficial.

The Third World countries clearly benefited more from the Conference than did the developed countries and yet, pending the establishment of any world economic order, our presence at such conferences should be

maintained in order to demonstrate our readiness to listen, our willingness to understand and our eagerness to assist where this is possible. We can at least give freely of our time and presence.

John Howard Davies
Director of Education
Clwyd County Council

Miscellany

European school opens at Culham

The first European school to be established in the United Kingdom was formally opened on Friday, 28 September at Culham, near Abingdon, Oxfordshire. The formal opening was performed by the President of the European Commission, Mr Roy Jenkins. The school at Culham, which now has 219 pupils on its roll, is the ninth European school to be established under an intergovernmental statute signed by the nine member countries of the European Community.*

* For a more detailed account of the work of the European Schools see: Leigh, R. J. and J. A. Plewes. 'The European Schools and the European Baccalaureate' in *Trends in Education*, Spring, 1979.

Return Visit by the Chinese Minister of Education

Mr Jiang Nanxiang, Minister of Education of the People's Republic of China, visited England from 28 September to 7 October at the invitation of the Rt Hon Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education and Science. He led a party from the Chinese Ministry of Education, including the Deputy Director of the Department of Primary and Secondary Education, the Deputy Director of the Department of Higher Education and the Vice-President of Tianjin University. His programme covered visits to Cambridge, Oxford, Surrey and Leeds Universities, the Open University, Ealing College of Higher Education, Leeds Polytechnic, the School of Oriental and African Studies, The Royal Society, London, a middle school in Aylesbury and a college in Twickenham. Among the subjects the Minister discussed were facilities for British academic researchers in China, British support for English language teaching in China through the British Council, British support for science teaching in China, the work and materials of the Open University, links between individual universities in the United Kingdom and China and British exports to China.

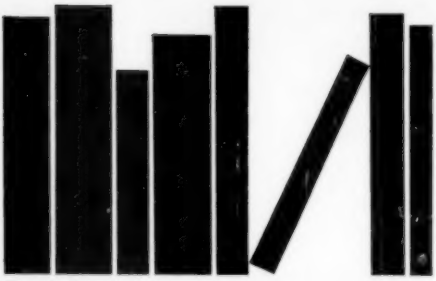
Basic education statistics

Public Sector in England and Universities in Great Britain

		Academic Years			
		1967–68	1975–76	1976–77	1977–78
Schools					
Nursery:	Number of schools	425	564	579	593
	Number of pupils (thousands)	28	46	48	49
Primary:	Number of schools	20,891	21,394	21,414	21,372
	Number of pupils under 5 (thousands)	202	395	384	367
	Number of pupils aged 5 and over (thousands)	4,179	4,452	4,387	4,275
	Pupil/teacher ratio	28·1	24·0	23·9	23·6
Secondary:	Number of schools	5,222	4,728	4,734	4,711
	Number of pupils (thousands)	2,714	3,700	3,799	3,851
	Percentage in comprehensives	19·3	74·8	79·3	83·4
	Pupil/teacher ratio	18·1	17·0	17·0	16·9
Special:	Number of schools	822[1]	1,432	1,468	1,480
	Number of pupils (thousands)	73[1]	121	122	124
School leavers:	Percentage with				
	No GCE or CSE attempts	..	15·1	13·5	13·0(P)
	5 or more higher grade O-level/CSEs[2], but no A-levels	8·0	8·5	9·2	9·3(P)
	2 or more A-levels	12·2	12·8	12·4	12·6(P)
Teachers	Full-time in maintained nursery, primary and secondary schools	276,963	404,201	408,393	410,808
	Full-time in maintained and assisted further education establishments	48,174	69,447	69,572	69,990
Major establishments of further education – total student enrolments (thousands)		1,869·1[1]	2,031·1[1]	1,845·2	1,813·0
of which					
Full-time and sandwich		317·0[1]	486·2[1]	476·3	472·4
Part-time day		740·8[1]	743·3[1]	672·8	676·2
Evening only		811·3[1]	801·6[1]	696·2	664·4
Percentage of full-time and sandwich students in polytechnics		..	20·1[1]	23·3	24·5
University full-time students in Great Britain (thousands)		200·1	261·3	271·8	280·5
Open University students in United Kingdom (thousands)		..	56·0	61·2	66·1
Participation in full-time education (as a percentage of age group)					
2–4 schools including assisted and independent[3]		11·5[1]	24·7[1]	23·3	25·3
16–18 in schools including assisted and independent/colleges and universities		30·5[1]	29·2[1]	29·9	29·9
19–20 in further education/teacher training colleges		5·8[1]	8·1[1]	8·1	7·5
19–20 in universities (participation in Great Britain)		4·8	6·6	6·7	6·9
Expenditure (financial years)					
Total: at constant (1978 survey) prices £million		5,169[1]	6,750	6,800	6,628
as percentage of Gross National Product[4]		5·1	6·4	6·2	5·7

[1] England and Wales. (P) Provisional.
[2] O-level grades A–C and CSE grade 1.
[3] Each part-time pupil counted as one.
[4] UK public expenditure on education (including school meals and milk) as a percentage of the UK Gross National Product (at market prices.)

Detailed statistics of education (in seven annual volumes) are on sale at HMSO bookshops. Summary statistics (facts cards) relating to each of the seven volumes are available free on request from the DES Statistics Branch (Telephone 01–928 9222 ext 2776).



Book Reviews

Mathematics and the 10-year-old: the report of the Schools Council project, Primary School Mathematics: Evaluation Studies, School of Education, University of Reading
Murray Ward
Evan/Methuen Educational £4·25 paperback

This working paper is the report of the Project – Primary School Mathematics: Evaluation Studies – carried out from 1972 to 1975 to try to provide a general picture of what was happening in primary schools as a result of changes that have taken place in the content and the method of teaching of mathematics in recent years.

After a brief review of these changes, the first part of the report describes the survey itself – the sampling strategy, and the questionnaires completed by heads and class teachers. A test was devised for pupils to complete, and the teachers were asked to assign a rating of importance to some of the questions that their pupils were attempting. Any conclusions must inevitably be reviewed with some caution since the sample size was small – only forty schools being involved. Nevertheless, some interesting facts emerged, and the timing of the publication will allow comparisons to be made with the forthcoming report of the first round of monitoring mathematics by the APU, and with the findings concerning mathematics of the National Primary Survey conducted by HM Inspectorate. For example 20 per cent of the schools in the project had a teacher with a responsibility for mathematics while the National Survey put this figure at 45 per cent overall and 65 per cent in schools with a three form entry or larger. The working paper also refers to the value of group work, to the importance of discussion of mathematics between teacher and children, and to the question of assessment.

After a most useful bibliography, the second part of the report looks in detail at the individual questions set in the test, comparing children's performance with teachers' ratings of importance, and an attempt is also made to analyse errors. A study of these questions and comments could be the basis for useful staffroom discussion, providing extremely valuable school-based in-service training.
A. Burns

Intelligence testing 1928–1978: what next?
Philip E. Vernon
Scottish Council for Research in Education
£0·70 paperback

This small, readable publication is an account of a lecture given by Professor Philip E. Vernon, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Scottish Council for Research in Education. It is characterized by economy of words and clarity of exposition, in the tradition associated with Professor Vernon through the years. In essence, it is concerned with the nature/nurture controversy in 'intelligence' and intelligence testing. It demolishes a number of generally held misconceptions and gives views for the future.

The booklet first considers the 1928 viewpoint – still common in many schools and colleges – that intelligence is a recognizable attribute measurable by a sample of appropriate mental tasks, and that it is innate and relatively constant. This view is contrasted with the present state of affairs, where the widespread use of group intelligence tests has declined with the demise of eleven-plus selection, and where both group and individual tests are criticized on the grounds that they suffer from inbuilt cultural bias, and that they merely measure acquired information and skills and not 'intelligence' as such.

The booklet then discusses common criticisms of tests – susceptibility to coaching, use by untrained personnel, dependence on motivation, condemnation by adverse generalization from single test items – these, and others, are dealt with succinctly. In the debate on the influence of genetic and environmental factors on children's intelligence growth, the genetic component is seen as the major influence, although the importance of environmental factors is acknowledged.

For the future, the continuing use of group tests for research purposes and as one item in secondary school assessment is foreseen. Similarly, individual tests will continue to be used, although their long-standing association with the outdated concept of innate potential may hasten the development of other forms of tests than the one currently in use.

This booklet presents a concise psychological viewpoint of change and problems in intelligence testing by one involved in this field for many years. It is recommended reading, not only for those with a special interest, but for all who are concerned with education.

G. J. NEAL

Understanding classroom life
Roy McAleese and David Hamilton
NFER £5·00 paperback

This book has the merits and drawbacks of its origins. In it we are, as it were, being permitted to eavesdrop on a conference of members of the British Educational Research Association on the subject 'The Conceptualization of Classroom Life'. It consists of seven papers offering widely different approaches to such a conceptualization, each followed by a commentary by another member of the conference, and the whole preceded by a brief introduction providing the context.

The stage is set by a provocative paper by John Elliott, who asks whether classroom research rests on science or commonsense, before coming down firmly on the side of commonsense. The polarity is, as the commentator suggests, an oversimplification. But a study of most of the other contributions makes this reader at any rate feel an increasing sympathy with Elliott's position.

Many of the papers are weighed down with scientific theory which sometimes seems disproportionately heavy for the process to which it leads. The last paper attempts a synthesis – but as the editors themselves agree, it is perhaps too soon for this. 'Classroom research is rather like nineteenth century archaeology – a rich array of informative bits and pieces but relatively few shared or integrated interpretations.'

This is a book for the initiated rather than the novice, and intended primarily to stimulate discussion rather than to inform.

BRIAN W. KAY

The economics of teacher supply
Antoni Zabalza, Philip Turnbull and Gareth Williams
Cambridge University Press £13·75 hardback

This book applies economic techniques to the pay and supply of teachers. The work was carried out in the Centre for Labour Economics at the London School of Economics, and was directed by Gareth Williams of Lancaster University, M. Blaug of the Institute of Education, University of London and R. Layard from the Centre for Labour Economics, and based on the computerized data files of the DES for the years 1963 to 1972 inclusive. The book ends with an interesting chapter by Mary Jean Bowman of the University of Chicago which compares and contrasts the American experience and also makes interesting comments on the methodology used in the book.

It is interesting for an administrator with responsibilities in the areas of teacher demand, supply and pay to read a book so closely related to many of his preoccupations. It is indeed refreshing, after immersion in the world of pay policies and bargaining (including the Burnham Committees), to be reminded of the economist's creed – if there is a continuing gap between supply and demand (in either direction) then the price should be closely examined. Quite small financial differences will have an impact at the margins where individuals decide whether to move or stay, seek promotion or tend their gardens.

I do not pretend to understand the econometrics. One valuable function of Professor Bowman's chapter, however, is to point out some of the limitations of the study, such as its ignoring the pool of qualified teachers not in employment and the treatment of the training system as a feature of supply rather than demand. Many of the conclusions are in keeping with commonsense and less quantified study. Male graduates pay more attention than male non-graduates or female entrants do to future earnings compared with starting salaries; flat-rate allowances are of decreasing importance to higher-paid teachers. One inevitable limitation is that the work relates to the period before public expenditure constraints and falling rolls created a 'surplus' of teachers. The authors were obviously aware of this point when writing up their results and have wherever possible pointed out lessons that could be relevant in present circumstances, but the limitation remains.

One important feature of the present situation which is unlikely to improve rapidly is the continuation of the chronic shortage of teachers in certain subjects, against a background of general over-supply. Other large organizations, such as the armed and civil services, also face the problem of trying to deal with limited shortages in the context of national rates, general grading systems, the need for close cooperation between all concerned to keep the system running, and the frequent occurrence of pay policies of general application that make differential treatment very difficult. There are no easy solutions, but the book's discussion of inter-school and inter-regional mobility as well as of special allowances is very interesting.

The book ends with an appeal for awareness of the labour market for teachers; the need for comprehensive supply and demand models and careful monitoring. Without necessarily accepting the precise proposals made in the book, the Department, assisted by the Advisory Council, is already thinking very much on the lines recommended, and the work incorporated in the book is adding to our store of knowledge and techniques.

C. R. WALKER

Classroom language: what sort?
Jill Richards
Allen and Unwin Educational £6·50 hardback, £2·95 paperback

'Language across the curriculum' is a phrase that has been in use for some years and received renewed and enormous attention after the publication of the Bullock Report (which used it as the title to Chapter Twelve). Among all the writings concerned with subject-specific language varieties in schools, very few actually produce evidence to support the hypothesis that the language of different disciplines could hinder the learning process. Nor was much written to refute that hypothesis. The argument that followed Jeannette Williams' *Learning to Write or Writing to Learn** – a critical account of the Schools Council Writing Development Project – emphasized the need for evidence.

In this volume, Ms Richards has attempted to provide evidence. On to a collection of about 55,000 words taped from ten biology lessons and five lessons in seven other subjects, she mapped a Barnes' model of classroom language description and produced some conclusions. Chief among these is the recommendation that children should be provided with an adequate range of language models from which they can derive appropriate usages. It is not disrespectful to Ms Richards to suggest that this book is only a beginning; many questions of methodology and classroom implications remain unanswered (no detailed analysis of the language is provided, some of her categories have no clear rationale, etc.). It is a compliment to mention her in company with Margaret Donaldson (*Children's Minds**) and Jeannette Williams.

PETER GANNON

Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning
M. A. K. Halliday
Arnold £9·95 hardback

For eighteen years, ever since he published his 'Categories of a Theory of Grammar',† Professor Halliday has been a major force in British linguistics. Systemic grammar – in the European structuralist tradition – has underpinned much of the work that has filtered into the classroom via the Nuffield linguistics project – *Language in Use*‡ – and other material. This book marks both a continuation of the European linguistic tradition and a significant departure from it, even though it is a collection of papers on different topics written over a span of nearly five years. Halliday's perspective is, as he states, in the ethnographic-descriptive tradition, but his interests in the sociological functions of language had led him far from the traditional concerns of linguists that are expressed through language levels (phonology, grammar, semantics). So far, indeed, that he is able to state, in Chapter Two, 'for me, linguistics is a branch of sociology'.

Chapter Two is, in some ways, the most interesting part of the book. It consists of a discussion between Halliday and Herman Parret, first published by Mouton in 1974, and addresses such issues as – What is the

* Williams, Jeanette. *Learning to Write or Writing to Learn.* Slough: NFER, 1977.

* Donaldson, Margaret. *Children's Minds.* London: Fontana, 1978.

† Halliday, Professor M. A. K. 'Categories of a Theory of Grammar' in *Word*, Vol. 17, 1961.

‡ Doughty, P. *Language in Use.* Schools Council Programme in Linguistics and English Teaching. London: Edward Arnold, 1971.

definition of grammar? What is the relationship between the 'function' of language and the 'structure' of language?

The book is in five parts which are rather uneven both in quantity and quality. Part One provides a general perspective; Part Two – 'A sociosemiotic interpretation of language' – and Part Three – 'The social semantics of text' – provide the most interesting theoretical account of Halliday's view of language as an interpretation, through a network of 'meaning potentials', of a sociocultural context. Parts Four and Five contain papers on topics as diverse as 'antilanguages' and the foreword to the American edition of *Breakthrough to Literacy*.*

There is an enormous amount in this volume of interest to teachers if they already possess some linguistic training. It is certainly of interest to sociolinguists. Halliday rejects far too sweepingly, in my view, the linguist's boundaries of concern, and insists that we must interpret linguistic processes 'from the outside' (ie from the standpoint of the social order). However, those who believe, with Halliday, that language does not merely reflect social structure but actually realizes it, and is, indeed, a metaphor for society, will judge the book, in spite of its heterogeneity, as an important contribution to the field.

PETER GANNON

Formative evaluation of educational television programmes. The outcome of a seminar held by the Council for Educational Technology in March 1978. (Seminar and Conference 3)

Tony Bates and Margaret Gallagher (editors)
Council for Educational Technology £2·90 paperback

The methods that have gradually been developed to advise on the production of educational programmes, both by the BBC and by the independent companies within the IBA, are fairly complex. A great deal of advice about general need and specific aims within many curriculum areas is provided for the broadcasters each year by teachers, local authority advisers, specialist consultants, and so forth. The producers undoubtedly use this considerable flow of information and advice in a sensible and constructive way, yet the gap between the advisory committee stages and the final programmes remains a large one. Critical influences during programme-making are less easily contrived. The end product is capable of evaluation in the classroom, but evaluation during planning and production is infrequent, to a large extent because of the heavy expense of carrying it out in any detailed way.

Dr Bates, in the opening chapter of this report, gives a fuller definition of the term which may include piloting, pre-testing, research methods and many other techniques which can cause changes to be made in the programmes or in the policy associated with them, before any transmission takes place. He gives an account of some experiences in the production of television programmes for the Open University and makes brief reference to the successful if expensive formative evaluation in a number of American studies, particularly the work of the Children's Television Workshop.

The present booklet is an edited version of papers presented at a seminar arranged by the Council for Educational Technology in 1978. Other contributors describe the pre-testing of the two series 'Let's Go . . .' (BBC) and 'Daisy Daisy' (ITV–Granada) and a third paper, in contrast, describes the testing of television commercials.

The final chapter by Dr Bates' co-editor and colleague at the Open University – Ms Margaret Gallagher – summarizes some of the recurring issues and problems that arise when techniques of formative evaluation are applied in an attempt to optimize programme effectiveness – problems of shortage of time, pressure of deadlines, lack of studio and editing facilities, no research personnel and no budget for it.

The questions raised in this seminar produced a great deal of often heated discussion. Many are worth pursuing further. Will it ever be possible to build into the system the necessary resources in terms of people and money to permit genuine formative evaluation to take place during the embryonic planning and production stages of educational programmes? Who should be the partners in this process? Would fewer, but better researched programmes be more helpful to education? Obviously this report is only able to touch on these important questions which await further debate and discussion between members of the education profession and the educational broadcasters, but at least it makes a start.

MAURICE EDMUNDSON

* McKay, David *et al. Breakthrough to Literacy*. London: Longman, 1975.

Aggression in the schools: bullies and whipping boys
Dan Olweus
Wiley £10·50 hardback

The phenomenon of the bully and his complement, the whipping boy, is a common one in both educational fact and fiction. Unhappily, it has sometimes been romanticized or obscured by myths of character-building experiences, and learning to stand on one's own feet. In reality it is a source of concern to many teachers, and of misery to the victims.

Olweus has attempted a systematic investigation of the incidence, nature and characteristics of bullies and whipping boys and their behaviour in Swedish schools. This book presents some of the preliminary findings and conclusions. Other data remain to be analysed in future reports.

His method is non-experimental – that is to say it is based on tests, questionnaires and ratings, rather than on specially contrived conditions. Data are obtained from teachers, peer groups and parents, and include one- and three-year follow-up studies.

In a fascinating and highly readable account Olweus presents his facts, discusses their implications, and refers widely to other relevant research. He is able to dispel certain common assumptions about aggressive behaviour between boys, and suggests several possible measures for schools to take in preventing its occurrence or limiting its effects.

In a short review it is not possible to describe more than a few of his findings, but their general trend may be indicated by some brief notes. Bullies are characteristically of average or slightly below average ability, they are not confined to lower socio-economic groups, and do not react to aversive situations in school. They are physically strong, non-anxious, have positive self-esteem, and are relatively popular with their peers. Their childhood experiences have led them to perceive their parents as disliking or even rejecting them, but they may have been rewarded for aggressive behaviour in the early years. Their bullying behaviour may remain latent unless and until it is triggered by the presence of a potential whipping boy in their group. Their aggressive tendencies are stable over time which suggests the operation of personality factors largely resistant to modification.

Whipping boys, on the other hand, tend to be anxious, insecure, physically weaker than their peers, and lacking in self-esteem. They have low status forced upon them by peers, and this tends to be maintained in many situations and groups. A few are of the provocative, teasing type, but the majority are non-aggressive. This factor they hold in common with well-adjusted boys who do not become the victim of bullies, but this characteristic seems to arise for quite different reasons in the two groups. If relieved of harassment, their outlook is favourable.

Regard these snippets as a taster and read the book.
G. CRANMER

Cognitive development in the school years
Ann Floyd (editor)
Croom Helm £9·95 hardback, £3·95 paperback

Ann Floyd has brought together a number of articles – some written specially for this book, others culled from sources mostly published since 1974 – into a reader for the Cognitive Development course at the Open University. It is one of a series of OU readers, and the selection is related to other material available to students. The work of Piaget provides a unifying theme, though with modifications, extensions and often substantial criticism of his ideas. Lovell sketches a history of Piaget's work and suggests those aspects likely to be of lasting value. Smedslund contributes a critique of Piagetian practice, arguing that the limitations and constraints implicit in the theory seriously threaten its usefulness in practical situations.

The middle two sections of the book describe research into various aspects of cognitive development in children of primary and secondary ages, and discuss some of the theoretical issues arising from it.

The final section indicates ways in which some of these research findings might be, or have been, applied in teaching situations. For example, Wynne Harlen's chapter describes the Schools Council Progress in Learning Science Project, and that of Margaret Brown – specially written – gives an account of the relationship between cognitive development and the learning of mathematics.

The book includes a glossary of technical terms and a useful index, in addition to the extensive bibliography at the end of each

chapter. The editor's intention to 'evoke the critical understanding of students' is achieved with considerable success in a handbook which deserves a wider readership than that.
G. CRANMER

Piaget for the classroom teacher
Barry J. Wadsworth
Longman £4·50 paperback

Dr Wadsworth is Associate Professor of Psychology and Education at Mount Holyoke College, USA, and author of *Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development*, which was primarily a handbook for students. The present volume offers an application of Piagetian theory (from a position of conviction) to educational practice, and presupposes a good understanding of its basic concepts. Wadsworth nevertheless begins with a brief summary of Piaget's theories, as a rationale for discussing teaching principles in subject areas such as reading, mathematics, science and history in the major part of the book.

He rehearses some of the now pretty familiar arguments about the relative role of genetic and environmental factors in cognitive development, and adopts an interactionist standpoint, regarding the child as '. . . scientist, explorer, enquirer, critically instrumental in constructing and organizing the world and his own development'.

This view underlies his theoretical consideration of how a child acquires and develops a knowledge of the world. Knowing does not derive directly from perception, but from operating upon an object or idea, transforming it, and assimilating it into operational structures or schemata. Wadsworth's concern is to stress the dynamic and developmental nature of the learning process, and the necessity for the child to be actively involved in his learning. 'Concepts', he says, 'cannot be effectively taught through verbal methods alone . . . Cognitive development does not proceed as a consequence of the child talking, listening to others talk, reading, or watching television . . . Cognitive development arises out of the activity of the child'.

There is great emphasis on the need to match the material to be learned with the child's level of capability for logical thought. Wadsworth provides detailed descriptions of assessments of aspects of cognitive development, such as classification, symbolic imagery, spatial, concrete and formal reasoning and conservation. These provide handy examples of classic Piagetian methodology, but added to other substantial sections of the book, do not constitute the breaking of very much new ground.
G. CRANMER

In-school evaluation
Marten Shipman
Heinemann Educational £5·95 hardback

This book would be a welcome addition to the literature of assessment if only because it deals with the previously neglected, but now highly topical, issue of self-assessment. But it is also a very readable, workman-like and sensible book which should be widely read and will be extremely helpful to those who do so.

As Dr Shipman says in the introduction, 'There is much published work on the aims of education, helping teachers to decide on targets. There is little on how to hit them'. This book certainly helps to fill that gap.

The peculiar freedoms of our system and the diversity of the curriculum leave teachers a large amount of freedom to decide what to teach and how to teach it. But the right to such autonomy, Dr Shipman argues, rests on a duty to evaluate. Moreover, educational aims vary widely from the academic, through the social and cultural, to the moral. If they are worth holding they are worth evaluating. Aims should be known, and schools and teachers need systems and methods of checking how successfully the objectives implied by such aims are being achieved.

After a general introduction, Dr Shipman's book deals first with internally referenced assessments in the school assessment programme. The next two chapters consider the role of externally referenced tests and evaluation panels and of external referencing by public examination results.

Wider aspects of school life or 'non-academic curricular activity' occupy a chapter of their own which deals with evaluating the 'extra curriculum' and that creation of Professor Benson Snyder's, the 'hidden curriculum', in terms of such indicators as 'attendance', 'staying on', 'job destinations' and 'parental popularity'. More discussion of and reference to such programmes as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts School Climate survey might have been included at this point.

A chapter on school organization and curriculum deals interestingly with staffing costs – exemplified by Mr Marland's own balance sheet at Woodberry Down; non-teaching staff and learning support services; professional development; grouping; teacher allocation; staff-pupil relations; and external relations. It concludes with a section on evaluating the structure of the whole curriculum against such criteria as coherence and relationship between subjects, bearing in mind contemporary cultural and sexist issues.

The last two chapters recapitulate and bring together the points raised throughout the book and set these ideas in context and into a manageable, practical framework.

Appendices on educational data and evaluation data storage and retrieval, suggestions for further reading, a glossary and an almost perfect index complete this highly commendable book.

D. T. E. MARJORAM

Issues in educational assessment
Scottish Education Department
HM Stationery Office £3·00 paperback

This small but timely volume of ten essays springs from the pens of people well experienced in the field of assessment.

Following closely upon the work of the Munn and Dunning Committees, the focus of several of the contributions tends to be towards assessing and certificating individual performance in the secondary school – whether by public examination or pupil profiles – though a number of other important topical issues are also raised.

Each essay is introduced and the whole collection well coordinated by the editor of the volume – a Scottish HMI.

Batting first, Dr Brian Dockrell, Director of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, provides a good analysis of the problem of monitoring national standards in education. In the course of this he refers to the work of National Assessment of Education and Progress (NAEP) in the USA and the Assessment of Performance Unit in England and Wales. He re-echoes the earlier American criticisms of Greenbaum *et al* that 'the NAEP studies provided a lot of information but not much of it was useful', but fails to mention how much that situation has improved in recent years. Rightly, he stresses the need for clarity and consensus on what should be assessed and what can be assessed – the reconciliation of means and ends.

Dr Sally Brown, on 'attitude assessment', traces the last decade's shift of concern from cognitive development towards the affective domain of learning. The state of this art, she argues, is at a primitive stage, partly because of confusion over the meaning of terms, but more fundamentally because of an insufficient scrutiny of the moral and rational basis upon which teachers are asked and/or expected to accept responsibility in the affective domain.

Dr Albert Pilliner, until recently Director of the Godfrey Thomson Unit, provides a clear evaluation of norm-referenced and criterion-referenced testing. His successor, Mr Alastair Pollitt, deals clearly with item banking and includes a useful section on Rasch analysis, arguing for its superiority among latent trait models, given a proper understanding of its basic assumptions and limitations.

Dr D. Walker, predecessor of Brian Dockrell, is brought back to deal with small group assessment – in particular the standardization of school assessment – and concludes that linear scaling is the most valid and economical way of incorporating school assessment into the measures on which fourth year (Scottish) certificates are awarded.

Thereafter, the scene moves from general to particular issues. Helpful essays by Ernest Spencer, James Gillam, Dr S. Kellington and Mr B. J. McGettick deal with assessment and examinations in English, mathematics, science and the social subjects.

Those who read to the end will be amply rewarded by HMI Mr R. S. Weir's entertaining, instructive and scholarly 'Music and Assessment' which argues for a middle way between Debussy's dismissive: 'Men in general forget that as children they were forbidden to dismember their playthings, but they still will persist in poking their aesthetic noses where they are not wanted' and those attitudes pilloried by Anthony Hopkins in 'How to Fail an O-level and Become an Integrated Personality'* who believes the subject to be an exact science if not a metric space.

There are, inevitably, omissions. Little attention is paid to assessing the progress of young children, to diagnosing learning

* Hopkins, Anthony. 'How to Fail an O-level and Become an Integrated Personality.' in *Living Music*, Autumn, 1979.

difficulties and strengths, to holistic assessment or to school self-assessment. But nowhere does the collection claim to be comprehensive, and what it does provide is good value for £3·00.

D. T. E. MARJORAM

REVIEWS IN BRIEF

Getting the right job

Chris Parsons and Angela Neustatter
Pan £0·80 paperback

Written jointly by an FE lecturer and a journalist, this book provides a lively and informal guide to chasing that elusive, satisfying job. Intended for school- and college-leavers as well as for older people contemplating a change of career, it contains a great deal of practical advice on qualifications, writing applications, preparing for and handling interviews, and rights at work. It directs the reader to other useful books, and devotes much space to first-hand accounts of job-seeking and work experience. More comments from large-scale employers would have improved its effectiveness, but it would serve both as a handy compendium of further information and as a primer in job-hunting for non-graduates and graduates, as well as careers advisers.

Children's books of the year 1978

Elaine Moss (editor)
Hamish Hamilton, in association with the National Book League £2·50 paperback

Out of over 3,000 children's books published in 1978, Elaine Moss – critic and school librarian – has selected 300 for this descriptive catalogue. The entries are arranged in sections – picture books, stories for the different age groups up to fourteen, myths and legends, prose collections, the arts, science, hobbies and sports, people and places – and each entry consists of a brief synopsis, together with some commendatory remarks. Proper attention is paid to a book's visual presentation, the style is often breathless with enthusiasm, and cliché is resorted to only very rarely. Teachers, librarians, and parents who want some guidance on choosing good books for children will find this an invaluable handbook.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS RECEIVED

Books for schools. Report of a working party convened by the National Book League to consider aspects of the provision of books to schools under the chairmanship of Mr Michael Marland. National Book League, £1·30.

BOAGEY, ERIC. *English for me.* University Tutorial Press, £1·20.

BRIGGS, K., D. RILEY and H. TOLLEY. *Data response exercises in physical and human geography.* Oxford University Press, £1·50.

BROWN, GEORGE MACKAY. *Pictures in the cave.* Pan Books, £0·75.

BROWN, GEORGE MACKAY. *The two fiddlers.* Pan Books, £0·75.

BURKETT, MOLLY and JOHN. *Foxes three.* Piccolo, £0·70.

BURNETT, D., M. J. NEWELL, L. A. RUTHERFORD and I. A. TODD. *The organization, the state and the community.* Sweet and Maxwell, £7·50 (£3·85 paperback).

DONALDSON, MARGARET. *Children's minds.* Croom Helm/Fontana, £5·50 (£1·00 paperback).

GARFIELD, LEON. *Garfield's apprentices.* Piccolo, £0·70.

GOSLING, W. *Microcircuits, society and education.* Council for Educational Technology, £1·00.

GREER, A. *New comprehensive mathematics for 'O' level.* Stanley Thomas, £4·75.

HARRIS, KEVIN. *Education and knowledge.* Routledge and Kegan Paul, £7·95 (£4·50 paperback).

HOYLES, MARTIN (editor). *Changing childhood.* Writers and Readers Cooperative, £6·50 (£3·25).

IRVING, A. and W. H. SNAPE. *Educating library users in secondary schools.* The British Library, free.

KELLINGTON, STEWART. *Assessment questions for integrated science Book 1 (Sections 1 to 8).* Heinemann Educational, £0·95.

MALING-KEEPES, JILLIAN. *Educational evaluation: key characteristics.* Australian Council for Educational Research, £11·00.

MOSS, LOUIS and HARVEY GOLDSTEIN (editors). *The recall method in social surveys. Studies in Education 9.* University of London Institute of Education (distributed by NFER, Darville House, 2 Oxford Road East, Windsor, Bucks SL4 1DF), £5·95.

National Union of Teachers. *Young people in transition. The education and training of 14 to 19 year olds. Report of a conference organized and co-sponsored by the NUT 8–9 June 1978.* NUT, free.

ROE, FIONA (editor). *Guide to university courses in archaeology.* Council for British Archaeology, £1·95.

SCHOOLS COUNCIL. *Teaching Mathematics Applicable. Introductory guide.* Schools Council Sixth Form Mathematics Project, Heinemann Educational, £1·25.

SPELMAN, B. J. *Pupil adaptation to secondary school.* Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research, £4·00.

TOMLIN, CONSTANCE. *Modern office practice.* University Tutorial Press, £1·85.

VAN LIESHOOT, CORNELIUS F. M. and DAVID J. INGRAM (editors). *Stimulation of social development in school. A report of the European Contact Workshop held at the University of Nijmegen 29 November–3 December 1976 under the auspices of the Council of Europe.* Swets and Zeitlanger, 42·50 Dutch guilders.

WALTHAM, J. E. and W. D. HOLMES. *North East England* (second edition). Cambridge University Press, £1·95.

WELSH OFFICE. *Commercial and business studies in the schools and colleges of Wales. Education Survey No. 7, a report by HM Inspectors of Schools.* HM Stationery Office, free.

WILLIAMS, BRIAN. *Conquerors of Everest* (Picador Explorer Books). Pan Books, £0·60.

WILLIAMS, BRIAN. *Ghenghis Khan* (Picador Explorer Books). Pan Books £0·60.

WILLIAMS, BRIAN. *Joan of Arc* (Picador Explorer Books). Pan Books, £0·60.

WILLIAMS, BRIAN. *Napoleon Bonaparte* (Picador Explorer Books). Pan Books, £0·60.

YORK, CAROL BEACH. *Dead man's cat.* Piccolo, £0·60.

YORK, CAROL BEACH. *The witch lady mystery.* Piccolo, £0·60.

Index to issues 1979/1 – 1979/4

The first bold figure indicates the number of the issue in which the article appeared. The second figure indicates the page. TP stands for Talking Points. Some articles appear under more than one heading.

Subject Index

Computers in education

Computing facilities in higher and further education, *P. R. Smith*, **1979/3,** 34

Craft, design and technology

Cooperation between industry and education, *A. M. Dobson*, **1979/1,** 22
Doing and making – the third culture, *John Swain*, **1979/1,** 3
Education and industry: a project in Ashfield, *G. Shillito*, **1979/1,** 11
Engineer looks through the window, an, *H. J. H. Wassell*, **1979/1,** 26
Graphical communication, *E. J. Coldicott*, **1979/1,** 17
Society and the study of science, mathematics and technology, *Michael Harrison*, **1979/1,** 33
Technology and the school curriculum, *Alan R. Marshall*, **1979/1,** 6

Curriculum

General

Multicultural curriculum: beyond the orthodoxy, a, *Rob Jeffcoate*, **1979/4,** 8
Education in a multiracial society, *Eric Bolton*, **1979/4,** 3
Politics of change, the, (TP), **1979/4,** 2
Second-generation immigrant's view of society – aims, aspirations and educational needs, a, *David Moore*, **1979/4,** 13

Subject

Computing facilities in higher and further education, *P. R. Smith*, **1979/3,** 34
Cooperation between industry and education, *A. M. Dobson*, **1979/1,** 22
Doing and making – the third culture, *John Swain*, **1979/1,** 3
Doing a Trident: coordinated work experience schemes, *John Kerry*, **1979/2,** 23
Education and industry: a project in Ashfield, *G. Shillito*, **1979/1,** 11
Engineer looks through the window, an, *H. J. H. Wassell*, **1979/1,** 26
Graphical communication, *E. J. Coldicott*, **1979/1,** 17
Industry and education – a Department of Industry view, *Eric B. Bates*, **1979/2,** 14
Industry matters? *Angela Arthur*, **1979/2,** 28
International Mathematical Olympiad takes place in Britain, *John Hersee*, **1979/3,** 47
Links with local industry: the work of one SATRO, *Peter Dutton and Brian Harris*, **1979/2,** 33
Schools and industry – a view from the TUC, *R. A. Jackson*, **1979/2,** 7
Schools and industry – specialized in-service training for teachers, *J. W. Nisbet*, **1979/2,** 4

Schools and work: a curriculum enquiry in Cheshire, *M. Joan May*, **1979/2,** 20
Society and the study of science, mathematics and technology, *Michael Harrison*, **1979/1,** 33
Technology and the school curriculum, *Alan R. Marshall*, **1979/1,** 6
Words are not English, *R. Hull*, **1979/3,** 37
'Young Enterprise' – a school/industry link, *Valerie D. Ivison*, **1979/2,** 39
Youth Opportunities Programme: a bridge to work, the, *Geoffrey Holland*, **1979/2,** 11

Discipline

Crime and punishment, (TP), **1979/1,** 2
Discipline in EEC schools, *Ann Hodgson*, **1979/3,** 45

Educational research

DES and educational research, the, *Brian Kay*, **1979/3,** 22
Fifteen thousand hours: findings and implications, *Barbara Maughan and Janet Ouston*, **1979/4,** 18
Lessons from class-size research – an economist's perspective, *B. D. Cullen*, **1979/4,** 29
Research into special education, *Peter Mittler*, **1979/3,** 17
Time to mend the nets: a commentary on the outcomes of class-size research, *Clare Burstall*, **1979/3,** 27
Why do girls underachieve? *Corinne Hutt*, **1979/4,** 24

General

College/university merger, a, *J. R. Hough*, **1979/4,** 33
Father William's boys, (TP), **1979/2,** 2
Politics of change, the, (TP), **1979/4,** 2
School and the community, the, *Michael Hacker*, **1979/4,** 37
While Rome burns, (TP), **1979/3,** 2

International education

Agricultural education for overseas students, *D. R. Shadbolt*, **1979/2,** 49
Discipline in EEC schools, *Ann Hodgson*, **1979/3,** 45
European schools and the European Baccalaureate, *R. J. Leigh and J. A. Plewes*, **1979/1,** 39
Impressions of a visit to China – July 1978, *Stephen Jones*, **1979/2,** 47
International Mathematical Olympiad takes place in Britain, *John Hersee*, **1979/3,** 47
Society and the study of science, mathematics and technology, *Michael Harrison*, **1979/1,** 33
Thirty-seventh International Conference – Geneva, July 1979, *John Howard Davies*, **1979/4,** 45
Work of the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the, *S. E. Packer*, **1979/4,** 44

Language

Words are not English, *R. Hull*, **1979/3,** 37

Mathematics

International Mathematical Olympiad takes place in Britain, *John Hersee*, **1979/3**, 47
Society and the study of science, mathematics and technology, *Michael Harrison*, **1979/1**, 33

Multicultural education

Multicultural curriculum: beyond the orthodoxy, a, *Rob Jeffcoate*, **1979/4**, 8
Education in a multicultural society, *Eric Bolton*, **1979/4**, 3
Second-generation immigrant's view of society – aims, aspirations and educational needs, a, *David Moore*, **1979/4**, 13

Schools/industry links

Cooperation between industry and education, *A. M. Dobson*, **1979/1**, 22
Doing a Trident: coordinated work experience schemes, *John Kerry*, **1979/2**, 23
Education and industry: a project in Ashfield, *G. Shillito*, **1979/1**, 11
Engineer looks through the window, an, *H. J. H. Wassell*, **1979/1**, 26
Father William's boys, (TP), **1979/2**, 2
Industry and education – a Department of Industry view, *Eric B. Bates*, **1979/2**, 14
Industry matters? *Angela Arthur*, **1979/2**, 28
Links with local industry: the work of one SATRO, *Peter Dutton and Brian Harris*, **1979/2**, 33
Schools and industry – a view from the TUC, *R. A. Jackson*, **1979/2**, 7
Schools and industry – specialized in-service training for teachers, *J. W. Nisbet*, **1979/2**, 4
Schools and work: a curriculum enquiry in Cheshire, *M. Joan May*, **1979/2**, 20
'Young Enterprise' – a school/industry link, *Valerie D. Ivison*, **1979/2**, 39
Youth Opportunities Programme: a bridge to work, the, *Geoffrey Holland*, **1979/2**, 11

Special education

Children and students with special educational needs, *J. R. Fish*, **1979/3**, 3
Contribution of the educational psychologist, the, *G. Cranmer*, **1979/3**, 13
Educational disadvantage, *Christopher A. Norman*, **1979/3**, 7
Research into special education, *Peter Mittler*, **1979/3**, 17

Teacher training

Schools and industry – specialized in-service training for teachers, *J. W. Nisbet*, **1979/2**, 4

Author Index

A

Arthur, Angela 1979/2

B

Bates, Eric B. 1979/2
Bolton, Eric 1979/4
Burstall, Clare 1979/3

C

Coldicott, E. J. 1979/1
Cranmer, G 1979/3
Cullen, B. D. 1979/4

D

Davies, John Howard 1979/4
Dobson, A. M. 1979/1
Dutton, Peter 1979/2

F

Fish, J. R. 1979/3

H

Hacker, Michael 1979/4
Harris, Brian 1979/2
Harrison, Michael 1979/1
Hersee, John 1979/3
Hodgson, Ann 1979/3
Holland, Geoffrey 1979/2
Hough, J. R. 1979/4
Hull, R. 1979/3
Hutt, Corinne 1979/4

I

Ivison, Valerie D. 1979/2

J

Jackson, R. A. 1979/2
Jeffcoate, Rob 1979/4
Jones, Stephen 1979/2

K

Kay, Brian 1979/3
Kerry, John 1979/2

L

Leigh, R. J. 1979/1

M

Marshall, Alan R. 1979/1
Maughan, Barbara 1979/4
May, M. Joan 1979/2
Mittler, Peter 1979/3
Moore, David 1979/4

N

Nisbet, J. W. 1979/2
Norman, Christopher A. 1979/3

O

Ouston, Janet 1979/4

P

Packer, S. E. 1979/4
Plewes, J. A. 1979/1

S

Shadbolt, D. R. 1979/2
Shillito, G. 1979/1
Smith, P. R. 1979/3
Swain, John 1979/1

W

Wassell, H. J. H. 1979/1

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